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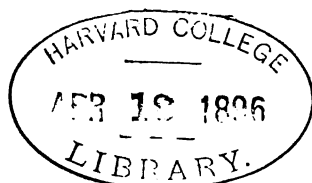
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ERRATA.

Page 29, line 19, *for* "lozo" *read* "loro."

Page 156, last line, *for* "Ha-Brachahs" *read* "Ha-Brachah."

Page 157, first line, *for* "dabberals" *read* "dabarah."

Page 193, seventh line from bottom, *for* "array-mark" *read* "assay-mark."

Page 230, *for* "ANAZAPTA" *read* "ANANIZAPTA." A satisfactory explanation of this spell has lately been suggested to me by that eminent Hebrew scholar, the Rev. R. Sinker. He discovers in it the Chaldee words, very slightly corrupted, signifying "Have mercy upon us, O Judge:" an interpretation furthermore confirmed by its appropriateness.

Page 358, fifth line from bottom, *for* "some difficulties when we come to trace," *read* "also a contribution to."

THE HORN OF ULPHUS.



D. 4. 1/2 in. diam. 5 in.



Sculptured Ivory Tusk, in the Treasury, York Minster. Length (outer curve), 54½ in. Diameter of the mouth, 5 in.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1869.

THE HORN OF ULPHUS.

By ROBERT DAVIES, F.S.A.

THE accounts which have hitherto been given of the interesting relic preserved in the Treasury of York Minster, called the Horn of Ulphus, are far from being satisfactory or complete.¹ This history of an object which is not only singularly curious in itself, but is associated with a remarkable tradition of great antiquity, seems to be worthy of a more exact and critical investigation.

The traditionary story, as it has been current in the Church from a very early period, is to the effect that a large portion of the territorial possessions of the See of York were bestowed upon St. Peter, before the Norman Conquest, by a wealthy Anglo-Danish chieftain called Ulf, the son of Torald, and that he used the horn which bears his name as the symbol or instrument of endowment.

The earliest historical notice we possess of this tradition is found in a Latin poem preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, which professes to be an account of the lands given to the Church of York by

¹ The Horn of Ulphus was engraved by Virtue in 1718, and given by the Society of Antiquaries in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i. pl. 2, from a drawing by B. M. The two inscriptions on silver bands attached to it in 1675, by Henry Lord Fairfax, when it was restored to the Dean and Chapter, and replacing those of gold, as alleged, with which it was formerly enriched, are given on Virtue's plate. An engraving, on a very reduced scale, was also published in Drake's *Eboracum*, in 1736, p. 480; the horn has

likewise been figured in the *Historical Guide to York Cathedral*, by the Rev. G. A. Poole, and Mr. Hugall, in 1850. It has recently been given amongst the admirable illustrations of the *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England, Northern Division*, part I., pl. ix., p. 83, by Mr. R. J. King. The Institute is indebted to the kind liberality of Mr. Murray for the accompanying illustrations, executed for that beautiful work by the late Mr. Orlando Jewitt.

King Athelstan and others.² It contains the following lines :—

“ Consul et insignis Eboracensis Comes, Ulfus,
Prædia prebendis prebuit ille sua ;
Tradens ex Ebore Cornu Petroque sigillum,
Investituram constituit solidam.
Cornea buccina, candida, lucida, testificatur
Munus et eximium largifluum Comitis
Sanctus et Edwardus Rex, Confessor venerandus,
Omnia confirmat, et recitando probat.”

In these stanzas we have the tradition set forth with much circumstantial precision. Ulf, the benefactor of the church, is described as a distinguished earl and ruler in Yorkshire ; the horn is spoken of as the instrument of investiture, and its beauty is extolled ; and the gifts of Ulf to the church are said to have been confirmed by King Edward the Confessor.

It is not known that the traditionary story appeared in any printed book of an earlier date than Camden's *Britannia*. In the original editions of that celebrated work, which were published towards the close of the sixteenth century, we find the following passage :—

“ Tunc etiam multis et magnis beneficiis ecclesiam Eboracensem principes cumulaverunt, precipuè Ulphus Toraldi filius (ex veteri libro adnoto, ut rara quædam consuetudo in dotandis ecclesiis elucescat). Dominabatur Ulphus ille in occidentali parte Deiræ, et propter altercationem filiorum suorum senioris et junioris super dominiis post mortem, mox omnes fecit æquè pares. Nam indilatò Eboracum divertit, et cornu quo bibere consuevit, vino replevit, et coram altari Deo et beato Petro Apostolorum principi omnes terras et redditus flexis genibus propinavit. Quod cornu ad patrum usque memoriam reservatum fuisse accepimus.”³

In Holland's translation of the *Britannia*, first published in 1610, the passage is thus rendered :—

“ Then it was also that princes bestowed many and great livings and lands upon the church of York, especially Ulphus, the son of Torald. (I note so much out of an old book, that there may plainly appear a custom of our

² Cott. MS., Cleopatra, c. iv. p. 25. The age of this MS. it is not easy to determine. Most probably the verses are the production of the thirteenth or

fourteenth century.

³ *Britannia*, third edit., London, 1590, p. 571; edit. Gough, 1806, vol. iii., pp. 243, 306.

ancestors in endowing churches with livings.) This Ulphus aforesaid ruled the west part of Deira, and by reason of the debate that was like to arise between his sons the elder and the younger, about their lordships and seigniories after his death, forthwith he made them all alike. For without delay he went to York, took the Horn with him out of which he was wont to drink, filled it with wine, and before the altar of God and blessed Saint Peter prince of the Apostles, kneeling upon his knees he drank, and thereby enfeoffed them in all his lands and revenues. Which Horn was there kept as a monument (as I have heard) until our father's days." ⁴

I propose to inquire how far the truth of this tradition, which has been accepted by the Church for many centuries, is capable of being established by authentic evidence.

It appears from the Domesday Survey that in the reign of Edward the Confessor an English thegn, bearing the name of Ulf, held large territorial possessions in various parts of that division of the kingdom of Northumbria which was afterwards called Yorkshire, and that a considerable portion of these possessions had, at the time of the survey, become the property of the See of St. Peter of York, but in what manner or at what time the possessions of Ulf were acquired by the Church is not stated in the survey, except in a single instance, in which it is recorded that Ulf gave six bovates in Stanegrif [Stonegrave] to St. Peter.⁵

From the same unimpeachable record we learn that numerous manors and a large extent of territory in various parts of the East Riding of Yorkshire, which are classed under the general title of *Terra Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, were at the time of the Conquest held by Archbishop Ealdred, but the name of the previous owner is not mentioned. By other evidence we ascertain that these manors and lands had also been among the vast possessions of Ulf.

In a survey of the county of York taken in the reign of King Edward I., commonly known as Kirkby's Inquest, certain manors and lands in the East Riding, which in Domesday Book are stated to be held by Archbishop Ealdred,

⁴ "Britain, or a Chorographical Description of England, Scotland, and Ireland: written first in Latiné by William Camden, Clarenceux K. of A., translated

newly into English by Philemon Holland, Doctour in Physick:" Fol. 1610. p. 704. E.

⁵ "In Stanegrif tenuit Ulf vi. bovatas. Idem dedit S. Petro."

were found by the inquisition to be then the property of the Church of York, and opposite to the description of them are placed the words "*de dono Ulf.*" Thus, if the information afforded by the Conqueror's survey respecting the gift of Ulf to the church be but slight, it is very materially supplemented by the inquisition taken before John de Kirkby about two centuries later, the record of which is acknowledged to be second only in value and importance to the great Domesday Book itself.⁶

But whatever may have been the extent of Ulf's benefaction to pious uses, it is certain that the wealthy thegn did not endow the church of York with the whole of his lands and revenues. He neither impoverished himself by his liberality to St. Peter, nor did he disinherit his sons. Ulf himself retained the manor of Crathorne in Cleveland, and other manors and estates in that district of Yorkshire, as well as the manor of Aldborough and other possessions in the East Riding of the county. The two sons of Ulf, whose names were Archil and Norman, are styled in Domesday Book thegns of the king. In the time of Edward the Confessor, Archil held Thoraldby,⁷ Faceby, Goulton, and Marton, in Cleveland; and his brother Norman held Ayton, in Cleveland, besides Upsall, Hinderwell, Rousby, Lackenby, Marske, Upleatham, and Wilton, all places in the same district; and even this enumeration does not include all the territories held by the sons of Ulf in Yorkshire. It will be observed that among the lands of which Archil was the proprietor the name of Thoraldby [Toraldesbi] occurs. This place, which is now an obscure hamlet within the parish of Stokesley, must have been originally the seat of a person bearing the name of Torald. It is situate in the centre of the large estates in Cleveland which were held by Ulf and his sons. This fact seems to contribute to confirm the accu-

⁶ Kirkby's Inquest, edited with remarkable care and industry by Mr. R. H. Skaife, of York, has been recently published by the Surtees Society. Vol. 49. 1887.

⁷ In that part of the East Riding where St. Peter of York held divers lands *de dono Ulf*, there is another Thoraldby [Turaltbi], which at the time of the Domesday Survey was held by a king's thegn called Game, who is also returned as holding in Lilling, in the North Riding,

what had previously belonged to Ulf, and as having possessed lands at Ugthorpe in Cleveland, and jointly with Ulf and Orm, at Sutton-upon-Derwent, in the time of Edward the Confessor. In this reign, Orm, a king's thegn, was the joint possessor, with Archil and Norman, the sons of Ulf, of lands at North Dalton and Whitwell-on-the-Hill, and he held the manors of Ormesby and Kildale in Cleveland in 1086.

racy of the tradition as to the paternity of Ulf, the benefactor of the church of York.

A century and a half after the publication of the "*Britannia*," Mr. Samuel Gale, a learned antiquary, son of Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York, wrote "*An Historical Dissertation upon the antient Danish Horn kept in the Cathedral Church of York*," which is printed in the first volume of the *Archæologia*.⁸

Mr. Gale, adopting implicitly the facts of the tradition which are embodied in the Cottonian manuscript and repeated with additions in the *Britannia*, attempts to give an illustration of them by the following fanciful statement:—"Ulphus," he says, "being a Dane, governed in the western part of Deira, where, and in the city of York itself, he held large possessions, probably the rewards of his military exploits and courage in assisting Cnut to reduce and conquer these northern parts, and who, having the example of his royal master before him, might from thence be induced to make the like princely donation; the time I take to have been a little after the death of King Cnut, which happened in 1036, when that controversy arose between the sons of Ulphus about sharing their father's lands."⁹

Mr. Gale was unquestionably mistaken in assuming that the Ulf of the tradition was the same person as the illustrious Dane of the time of King Cnut, whose descent and alliances are well established historical facts. Ulf, the great Danish jarl, was the son of Thurgills Sprakaleg. His wife, Estrith, was the sister of King Cnut. His own sister, Gytha, was married to the English Earl Godwine.¹ Unhappily, Ulf gave offence to King Cnut, his brother-in-law, and by that monarch's orders he was cruelly murdered at Roskild in Denmark, soon after the Danes were defeated by the Swedes at the battle of Kelga in the year 1027.² Although Ulf Jarl was one of the most distinguished characters in the Danish history or romance of the time, it is said that in English history he scarcely played any part.³ His wife Estrith, the sister of Cnut, bore him three sons. The eldest was the famous Swend Estrithson, afterwards king of the

⁸ *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 168.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹ *Lapenberg's Anglo-Saxon Kings*, by Thorpe, vol. ii. pp. 203, 236.

² See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. p. 476.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

Danes. Of the two younger sons, Biorn was murdered by his kinsman Swegen, the son of Earl Godwine, in 1049,⁴ and Osbion the other was banished.

In the year 1778, Mr. John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries "An Account of a Saxon Inscription remaining in the Church of Aldbrough in Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire."⁵ In this inscription the name of Ulf, who was lord of the manor of Aldbrough, is commemorated as founder of the church; and in attempting to identify him with Ulf, the benefactor of the see of York, Mr. Brooke falls into the same error as his predecessor, Mr. Gale. He entertains no doubt that Ulf, the great Danish jarl, who, he says, lived in the time of the Confessor, and probably died in his reign, was the person who endowed the church of York with his lands. Mr. Brooke, however, whilst admitting the general authenticity of the tradition, ventures to impeach its accuracy in one important particular. Upon the authority of the Domesday Survey, he maintains "that the whole of Ulf's fortune was not given to the see of York, but that some of it remained to his sons, who probably were deprived of the greatest part of their possessions at the Conquest, for, when the survey was made, Aldbrough belonged to Drogo de Bruere, to whom the Conqueror had given the whole territory of Holderness."

Mr. Brooke further asserts that Ulf left two sons, one of whom, named Styr or Stirre, became a rich citizen of York, and the other, William, in after times had a liberal grant from King Henry I. of lands in the East Riding in the neighbourhood of the estates which belonged to his father.⁶ It is obvious that Ulf, the father of Styr, was not the benefactor to the church of York. The Chronicle of Simeon of Durham contains a charter by which Styr, the son of Wulf or Ulf, gave the town of Darlington and its appendages to the church of Saint Cuthbert, and this grant was afterwards confirmed by Styr in the presence of King Ethelred, Ulstan the archbishop, and other great men then assembled at York. It seems impossible that Ulf, whose son endowed the church of Durham whilst Ethelred was on the throne, was the same person as Ulf the son of Torold, who was living

⁴ Anglo-Saxon Chron. Transl. p. 139.

⁶ Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 39.

⁵ Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 39.

more than seventy years after the reign of Ethelred had terminated.⁷

There is no reason to suppose that Ulf, the son of Torold, whose possessions contributed so largely to enrich the metropolitan see of the north, was a person of any historical importance. His name denotes him of Scandinavian origin, and the Domesday Survey ascribes the rank of thegns of the king both to him and to his sons. But neither in the Saxon Chronicle, nor in Domesday Book, nor in the Codex Diplomaticus of Mr. Kemble, nor in the Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici of Mr. Thorpe, is to be found a person described as Ulf the son of Torald. The only Englishman at this period who bore the name of Thorold,⁸ was a wealthy thegn who was sheriff of Lincolnshire, and founded the priory of Spalding; but there is no reason whatever to suppose that the benefactor of the church of York was his son. As witnesses to charters in the reign of King Edward the Confessor, the names occur of Ulf the son of Tofus, minister; Ulf of Lincoln, minister; and Ulf the bishop, a Norman priest, to whom the Confessor gave the see of Dorchester;⁹ but none of these can be identified with the Yorkshire thegn.

Although the preceding investigation shows that the traditionary history of the acquisition by the church of York of the *Terra Ulfi* and the *Cornu Ulfi* is, in some points, inaccurate, no facts have come to light in the course of the inquiry which tend to throw any discredit upon the popular account of the manner in which the act of endowment was performed by the wealthy thegn. The horn used as the symbol or instrument of transfer and investiture which is said to have been the pious benefactor's ordinary drinking vessel, yet remains in the possession of the venerable guardians of the church, and is preserved by them as one of the oldest and noblest of their title deeds.¹

We are told that the warriors of the north, in ancient days, drank from horns. Drinking-horns are mentioned in documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and were

⁷ See Simeonis Dunelm. Hist.; Gale's Scriptores X. col. 80, 29; Leland's Collect., vol. i. p. 377; Surtees Soc., vol. 51, pp. 150, 155.

⁸ He was the brother of the Lady

Godiva, famous in legend.

⁹ See Codex Diplom., vol. iv.

¹ See Fabric Rolls of York Minster, by the Rev. Canon Raine. Surtees Soc., vol. 35, p. 86 and nota.

used as appendages of the banquetting table until a much later period.²

It is well known that the practice of transferring land by the delivery of a horn or some other portable object prevailed in mediæval times. A few examples are well authenticated, and the symbols used are yet in existence, as the Pusey horn, the Borstall horn, and some others.³ This custom must not be mistaken for that which is called the tenure or service of cornage, which involved the performance of certain duties or service by the holder of the land, with which his possession of a horn was associated. The object used as the symbol of the transfer of land was regarded as an important muniment of title, but "had no further connection with the tenure of the land, or the services due from it."⁴

The identity of the curious relic, called Cornu Ulphi, which is now in the Treasury of York Minster, rests entirely upon the tradition. The church is unable by documentary evidence to trace her possession of it to any period antecedent to the fourteenth century. But that it had long previously been an object of great interest appears from the form of the horn having been sculptured in stone upon the walls of the Cathedral, in parts of that structure which are known to have been commenced before the year 1300.⁵ John Newton, who was installed treasurer of the church in 1393, and died in 1414, was at the cost of decorating the horn with ornaments of silver-gilt, a fact which is recorded in an Inventory of "all the jewels, vessels of gold and silver, and other ornaments, vestments, and books, in the custody of the sub-treasurer of the church," drawn up soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century, and containing the following entry: "Unum magnum cornu de ebore ornatum cum argento deaurato, ex dono Ulfi filii Thoraldi, cum zona annexa, ex dono magistri Johannis Newton, thesaurarii."⁶ The account of the custodian of York Minster for

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 261. These horns, as well as such as were used in the transfer of land, were the horns of animals common in the locality, as the ox, the deer, &c.

³ See *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 1.

⁴ See a *Dissertation upon the Tenure or Service of Cornage*, by Francis M. Nichols, Esq. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix.

p. 349.

⁵ A sculptured shield of the imaginary armorial bearings of Ulf (6 lions rampant, 3, 2, and 1), with a figure of the horn beneath it, is placed above one of the arches in the nave, and is repeated in the choir.

⁶ *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc., vol. 35, p. 223.

the year 1481—2, contains the entry of a payment of seven shillings to John Girdler, “pro j. zona pro magno cornu et j. quart. et di. velveti pro eodem cornu et pro factura ejusdem zonæ.”⁷

The Cornu Ulphi differs from all the known examples of horns which were used either as drinking vessels, or as symbols of the transfer of land, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is not, strictly speaking, a horn. It is the tusk of an elephant, having its surface decorated with sculptures, executed by no mean artist. The art of carving for ornamental purposes was practised at an early period by the Scandinavians, the material they chiefly used being the tooth of the walrus or sea-horse.⁸ In the reign of King Cnut, the game of chess, a favourite amusement of the Danes, was brought into England, and the carved pieces used in playing the game were composed of that substance.⁹ In the former half of the eleventh century, Harold Hardraad, king of Norway, received a present from Greenland, consisting of, amongst other things, a set of chess-men, exquisitely carved. The connection of the Scandinavian countries with the far east is said to have been established as early as in the eighth century, and continued until after the conquest of England by the Normans.¹ Ivory and other precious productions of Asia would be brought by the Arabian merchants who visited the coasts of the Baltic, and would thus become known to the Danes, and other nations of the north. Hence it is not surprising that the tusk of the monster of the Asiatic jungle should be in the possession of a wealthy Englishman of Scandinavian descent living in the eleventh century, or that the best attainable skill should be employed in the decoration of an object of so much rarity and value.²

The most curious specimens of Scandinavian workmanship now known are the chess-men which were found in the

⁷ Ibid., p. 124. A chamberlain's roll for the year 1371, records a payment of 10s. to five canons present at the celebration of the obit of Ulf. This obit, the editor says, was always observed, but the date of its foundation is not known.

⁸ Archæologia, vol. xxiv. p. 244.

⁹ Ibid., p. 231.

¹ Wormaae's Danes and Norwegians, p. 103.

² No example of a drinking vessel

formed of the tusk of an elephant, of earlier date than the sixteenth century, is noticed by Mr. Hudson Turner. Archæological Journal, vol. ii. p. 261. Ivory hunting horns, with ornaments sculptured in the North of Europe, are said to be preserved in Hungary, and the possession of one specimen is attributed to a Hungarian chief of the tenth century. Ibid., vol. viii. p. 101.

Isle of Lewis in the year 1831,³ and another object, supposed to be a chess-man, which was found among the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, about forty years ago.⁴ They are formed of the tusk of the walrus, and elaborately carved by artists who were probably of the 11th or 12th century. The carvings do not present any similarity of type to those which decorate the Cornu Ulphi, and are inferior to them both in design and execution. The peculiar character of the ornamentation of the Cornu Ulphi is very remarkable. A border about 4 inches broad, carved in low relief, encircles the upper or thickest end of the horn or tusk. The design represents four principal figures. Two of them, facing each other, have between them a tree bearing palminated leaves, and fruit in the shape of a cone. One of these is a gryphon, a fabulous creature, with the body of a lion and the head and wings of an eagle. The other monster has the body of a lion with the wings of an eagle and a head resembling that of a wolf or dog. The tails of both are borne erect, and each terminates in the head of a wolf or dog. The other two principal figures have between them a smaller stem of the same description of tree or plant, with a single cone at the top. One of the animals is a lion of the ordinary type in the act of grasping and devouring a fawn or young deer. The other represents a monster having the body and mane of a lion with the head of an antelope armed with one horn, and its tail terminating in the head of a wolf or dog. The heads and collared necks of three wolves or dogs are rising from the base of the circle, and in the upper part is seen a similar animal in the act of running. A band beneath the principal circle, and two narrower bands round the smaller parts of the horn, are ornamented with scrolls composed of the stem, leaves, and fruit of a plant or tree similar to that represented in the principal design.

These carvings bear the impress of oriental art and feeling. The gryphon and other monsters resemble, both in form and mode of treatment, the fabulous creatures represented on several of the Nineveh sculptures. The conventional forms of the stem, leaves, and fruit of a tree are not unlike those of the sacred tree which occurs so frequently

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 203.

⁴ See Mr. Albert Way's notices, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. iii. p. 139, and vol. vi. p.

170, in which this and similar objects are described and illustrated with his wonted elegance and perspicuity.

upon the Assyrian marbles. Perhaps it may be thought that the grotesque caudal extremities of some of the monsters bespeak the taste of the Gothic rather than of the Oriental artist; and, indeed, examples are not wanting of similar extravagancies in Scandinavian art.⁵ The introduction of so many repetitions of the animal resembling a wolf may be allusive to the name of the owner of the horn. The English word by which we now designate that ferocious quadruped has been transmitted to us from præ-Norman times, and is found in most of the northern dialects with varying orthography.⁶

⁵ See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv. p. 281.

⁶ Danish, *Ulv*. Woulf; Swedish, *Ulf*; Icelandic, *Ulfr*; A.-S. *Wulf*.

THE RISE AND RACE OF HASTINGS.

By GEORGE T. CLARK, F.S.A.

OF the great baronial sources which well out from the cloud-capt summits of our genealogical Olympus, that of Hastings, though among the most illustrious, has not been classed among the most remote. Asserting the stainless honour of its men and the chastity of its women, brilliant in its alliances, rich in its broad landed possessions, and fertile in the number and copiousness of its branches, uncertainty has rested over its founder ; nor is it known whether he is to be sought for in England or in Normandy, whether he gave name to or received his name from the Aquitanian balliage or the English cinque port.¹

A popular belief current in the fourteenth century, when the family touched its zenith, attributed its origin to the terrible Viking, Alstagnus vel Hastingas, vulgo Gormundus, called also Huasten, "omnium paganorum nequissimus," who, from A.D. 855 to 893, ravaged the southern shores of England ; who, born a pagan and bred a pirate, became in later life a Christian of a very rugged stamp, and, having aided Rollo to conquer Normandy, took a part in its settlement and defence, and became the Lord of the County of Chartres.

But whatever may have been the source of the name of the balliage and cinque port, the belief as to the origin of the Barons, though not disproved by genealogists, has met with no support from their labours, which however, until recently, have been neither accurate nor extensive. The different branches of the family, numerous as they have been, and not wanting in "pride of place," seem to have been careless of recording their descent, and to have scorned the ordinary precautions,—

¹ Villam, balliagium, jurisdictionem et pagium de Hastings infra ducatum nostrum Aquitanum (Rot. Norm. 5 H. V. I.

257). It was upon the frontier of Navarre, and under the seneschal of Gascony. (N. Fœd. II. 1169, 15 Ed. III.).

“To show all ages plain,
 What honour was to HASTINGS due,
 What honours he did win :
 What arms he gave, and so to blaze,
 What lords had HASTINGS been.”

The name of Hastings occurs among the under-tenants in Domesday, in the persons of Ralph de Hastings of Essex, and Robert of Sussex ;² but among the tenants in chief in that venerable record a very considerable personage is Walter the Deacon, who had lands in Gloucestershire, Essex, and Suffolk, as an under-tenant in Norfolk, and, as shown by the Ely Domesday, in that isle ; and of the children of Walter, at least Robert the eldest, if not more, bore the surname of Hastings.

Robert de Hastings of Sussex seems to have been a follower of the Earl of Eu, and to have held under the Castle of Hastings, deriving thence his surname ; but the Deacon and his children and Ralph had nothing to do with Sussex ; they belonged to Essex, and may well have been related. Most of the Deacon's lands in the time of the Confessor were held by well-known Saxons, and he was probably an intruder ; but Domesday not only records Teddric or Theodoric, his brother, but mentions land derived from his ancestor Theodoric, and from the gift of Queen Ediva, after the advent of the Conqueror. It is therefore very doubtful whether the Deacon or his family and Ralph de Hastings acquired the surname in England from the cinque port, or derived it from the Aquitanian balliage, or from the great Viking himself.

In the Liber Niger of Henry II., and in the reign of Richard and John, the name of Hastings had become more common, but in very many instances it was a mere residential distinction, not adopted or transmissible as a regular surname ; and Vincent, Philip, Alan, Ysaac, Harvey, Harald, and Manasser de Hastings, who appear in various early Sussex records, were evidently only burgesses or barons of the cinque port : “Saponarii et furfurarii qui se barones vocant usque ad nauseam,” having no connection with either the baronial house or that of Robert of Sussex, nor transmitting their designation to posterity.

In the Liber Niger, which is a list of fees in the several

² Ralph de Hastings occurs also in the Exeter Domesday.

counties in the reign of Henry II., about 1165, the name of Hastings occurs several times. Besides the family of the Deacon, of whom were Robert of Easton, Ralph and William de Hastings, we have apparently another William in Gloucestershire; a William de Etona, Berks, probably the same person, and whom there is evidence to have been a Hastings; a William de Hastings in Warwickshire, probably grandson of Walter the son of the Deacon, and certainly ancestor of the baronial house; and two Williams, possibly the same with the last, attached to St. Edmund's Abbey, and one of them appears also in Suffolk.

It is proposed in the present paper to show that Walter the Deacon was the direct male ancestor of the two main lines of Hastings, that of Easton, and that of Ashley and Fillongley, or the Barons.

Hastings of Easton held the Windsor barony, and the ten fees comprising the Deacon's barony, including another Easton in Essex and a manor in Dorset. The elder line passed in five descents by an heiress into the House of Louvaine, and so into those of Bouchier and Devereux, and besides gave off a branch bearing the name of Godmanston, from their Dorsetshire manor, and which survived until the battle of Barnet in the fifteenth century.

The Barons Hastings of Ashley, sprung from a younger son, but by far the most copious and most distinguished of the name, only became, genealogically, its head, upon the extinction of the elder line.

The position of Ralph de Hastings of Essex, and Robert of Sussex, mentioned in Domesday, and the former possibly a collateral of the Deacon, will require a separate notice. The descendants of Ralph attained to considerable power.

The Sussex line, actually connected with the cinque port, and holding the lastage of Hastings and Rye, acquired by marriage the Waleran estates, also, singularly enough, in Essex. The family flourished as sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex, and as landowners in Kent, Sussex, and Essex, and seem to have ended in a Thomas de Hastings, who, 31 Edward III., was assessed for the rape of Hastings at one man-at-arms. There is no evidence of any connection between this family and those of Ralph or the Deacon. They were probably retainers of the Earl of Eu, holding under and taking name from the castelry of Hastings.

From whatever source derived, none of the name of Hastings ever, in those early centuries, possessed the cinque port, nor were they even tenants-in-chief in the county of Sussex. It was only by the marriage of a certain William de Hastings with Ida of Eu, that one branch of the family became allied to the real lords of the castle and honour of Hastings, the Earls of Augi or Eu. As Ida was not an heiress, and even the question of her issue is a doubtful one, this match gave them no share in the honour; but Ida was endowed with lands that carried the hereditary office of Seneschal of Hastings, though for this her husband had to struggle with a knight of the family of Echingham, with what success is not known.

In far later times, indeed, the celebrated chamberlain, anxious to proclaim the connection of his family with the Lords of the Honour through Ida, and to justify his rapid fortunes by adding lustre to his pedigree, obtained a grant of the castle, honour, and rape of Hastings; but these estates came in no way by descent.

Walter de Hastings, whom it will be one object of this paper to show to be the same with Walter Mascherel, second son of Walter the Deacon, was enfeoffed in the Marmion lordship of Fillongley in Warwickshire in the reign of Henry I., and was ancestor of the baronial house. It was his son, William de Hastings, who, by a fortunate marriage with the sister and heiress of Maurice de Windsor, of kin to Ralph the seneschal or Dapifer of St. Edmund's, obtained the seneschalship of that great abbey, with a corresponding estate in land for which the service was due.

William, as Lord of Ashley in Norfolk, was hereditary steward to Henry I., and to his son Ralph, omitted by Dugdale and Nicholas, he transmitted his various honours, with estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, and Northampton. Ralph is described, in a royal charter, as steward to Alianora of Aquitaine, the queen of Henry II. He was also seneschal of Bury.

St. Edmund, king and martyr, was, in his beatified state, not unmindful of the mundane interests of his chief secular officer. The seneschals of the abbey acquired, in successive generations, by a series of fortunate marriages, power and broad lands and high connection, inferior to those of no English subject. Their matches with the heiresses of

Windsor, Flamvile, Banastre, Scotland Chester and Huntingdon, Cantilupe, Leybourne, Valence, and Manny, bringing in their train Mareschal, Munchensy, and De Braose, and many lesser heritages, gave them estates all over England, an earldom palatine in Wales, a claim upon the throne of Scotland, and a near relationship with the reigning house, which they strengthened by a direct alliance with a daughter of Edward III.: an alliance barren indeed in the fruit of the womb, but very fertile in power, consideration, and royal favour.

All this enormous aggregation of wealth and honour was scattered and brought to nought by the extinction of the elder male line in the person of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who, while yet under age, was killed in a tournament at Woodstock in 1389.

A very moderate portion of the spoil passed to the next of kin in the female line, the Lord Grey de Ruthyn. With some of the most ancient of the family estates, as Ashley, Burbach, and Aston-Flamvile, he gained the representation of the elder line, and the empty but coveted honor of bearing the gold spurs on occasions of coronation. After various very remarkable vicissitudes the fragments of these oldest estates have come down, with a slight "*scintilla sanguinis*," to Earl de Grey, still lord of Burbach, while the barony of Grey de Ruthyn has, curiously enough, by a marriage and now by heirship, vested in the representatives, in the female line, of another great branch of the Hastings name.

The distant kinsman but male heir of the earls of Pembroke was Hastings of Elsing and Gressinghall, whose treatment when pursuing his claim to be the head and to bear the unbroken insignia of his name, has often been recorded, and rises almost to the grandeur of tragedy. As none of the estates were adjudged to this branch, then become the main trunk, they sought fortune in the north; and, while retaining Elsing and their Norfolk lands, they became Yorkshire knights and squires of high degree. After eight generations, Hugh de Hastings, the elder brother, left two daughters, coheirs, of whom one married Browne Viscount Montagu, and the other Le Strange of Hunstanton. The heir general of Le Strange, in the person of Sir Jacob Astley, claimed and obtained, in our day, the long dormant barony

of Hastings de Hastings. Sir Brian, the younger brother of Hugh, was father of Sir Francis of Hatfield in Yorkshire, who carried the line to the ninth generation, when it also terminated in heiresses in the middle of the sixteenth century.

There were yet other male heirs, though, from the very early period at which they parted from the parent stem, they took no share in the disputes consequent on the failure of the Earls of Pembroke. Of these one was Hastings of Daylesford and Yelford-Hastings, whose founder, Milo de Hastings, was probably a cadet of Hugh, second baron, by Erneburga de Flamville, and whose descendants, long seated at Daylesford, but landless during one or two of their later generations, came to a not inglorious close in Warren Hastings, who satisfied the one great desire of his life when he repurchased Daylesford, and the right there to lay his bones with the bones of his fathers.

Another branch, also extinct, was that of Eton-Hastings, founded by William de Hastings, a knight of large estates in Berks and Gloucester, probably a cadet of William of Filongley, first baron. This line endured but four generations, when their heiress gave her hand and land to Benedict de Blakeham, a magnate whose possessions lay in Suffolk. Their son came to an ill end, and died landless and childless.

Besides all these now extinct branches there remains one, the present and only hope of the name, the founder of which, Thomas de Hastings of Gissing, was probably a cadet of Hugh, third baron, by Erneburga de Flamville.

The immediate descendant of this Thomas, to Gissing, an early Hastings manor in Norfolk, and derived from the match with Windsor, added divers manors in Westmoreland, and, with the heiress of Alvestan, acquired, like his kinsfolk of Elsing, a firm footing in Yorkshire. Early in the reign of Edward III. Sir Ralph, their representative, married the heiress of Justice Herle, who brought in lands in Leicester and Northampton. Sir Ralph was a great personage in Northumberland, had licence to fortify his house in Leicestershire, and fell honourably on the winning side at Neville's Cross.

His son, with the heiresses of Sadington and Sutton, gained a considerable estate in Holderness; but his son, a third Ralph, joining in Glendower's rebellion, lost his life

and lands under Henry IV. The lands were recovered, probably in part only, by his successor, who seems also to have made independent way, since he acquired estates and offices in Leicester, Warwick, Northampton, York, and Salop.

But it was in the tenth generation of this line, in the person of William Hastings the celebrated chamberlain, that the old vitality of the race made itself again greatly conspicuous. William and his father had actively supported and been honoured by the friendship of Richard, Duke of York, whose son, Edward IV., found it, no doubt, to his interest and inclination to secure the services of the survivor. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the career of a man whom Shakespear and the chroniclers have made historic. So wide were his grants as almost to rival the ancient wealth of the great earls of his name, and although much was lost at his fall, his seat of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and his barony of Hastings of that place were left supported by very considerable estates.

To this wealth and power his son made an enormous addition by a match with the heiress of Lord Hungerford, a lady who had estates in every county from Wilts westward, and bore tacked to her ermine the three baronies by writ of Hungerford, Botreaux, and Molines, with which, and the lordships of Heytesbury, Newmarch, and Moels, those estates were associated.

Thus reinforced, their son George, Lord Hastings of Ashby, obtained from Henry VIII. a revival in his person of the earldom of Huntingdon, therein commemorating the great marriage by which the elder house became claimants of the throne of Scotland. His son, Francis, still in the ascendant, wedded Katherine the niece of Cardinal Pole, and the grandchild and coheir of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. His brother, Thomas Hastings, endorsed the connection by marriage with Winifrid, another sister.

This marriage of Earl Francis placed its issue, Henry, the next earl, in dangerous proximity to the throne of Elizabeth, who regarded him with a jealous eye, which however he somewhat averted by his marriage with the sister of her favourite, Leicester, and by the general prudence and moderation of his character. Francis, the tenth earl, died childless, and his sister and heir married John, Earl of Moira. Their

son, the celebrated Earl of Moira, as heir general of Hastings of Ashby, inherited his mother's estates and four baronies, and was created Marquis of Hastings, and to these Hastings honors, and to those derived from Scottish sources, the late and last marquis added, by maternal descent, the barony of Grey de Ruthyn, and therefore the representation, as heir general, of the eldest line of the House of Hastings, that of Pembroke, now vested in the Countess of Loudoun, his sister.

The earldom of Huntingdon, though stripped of the estates and baronies, did not become extinct. It devolved upon the collateral and only heir male, Hans Francis, the descendant of a younger son of Earl Francis and Katherine Pole, who thus became eleventh earl, and whose son, Frank Theophilus Hastings, twelfth earl, worthily represents the last surviving male line of this ancient and untarnished name, the cadets of which, four times cut off from the main stem, have four times carved their way to wealth and honour by distinct and independent channels.

There remains but one family in England, that of Nevile, Earl of Abergavenny, which descends in direct legitimate male line from an ancestor who has matched with a Plantagenet, and it is believed but five, Beaumont, Talbot, Courtenay, Berkeley, and Hastings, whose collateral male ancestor has attained to the same honour. In addition to this the House of Hastings, in their elder line, have been claimants of the throne of Scotland, and, in their youngest and extant line, near heirs to the throne of England. In their name have been an earldom palatine, Pembroke; two earldoms, Athol and Huntingdon; and ten baronies, Hastings by tenure, 1 Hen. I.; Hastings by writ, 1299 and 1342; Hastings of Ashby, also by writ, 1461; Hastings of Loughborough, 1558, and again 1643; and by inheritance Botreaux, 1 Hen. II.; Welles, 1229; Molines, 1347; and Hungerford, 1426. Nine of the name have worn the garter, and two signed the very celebrated and patriotic letter to the Pope in 1300-1.

G. T. C.

[*To be continued.*]

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF MEDÆVAL
ARMOUR AND WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

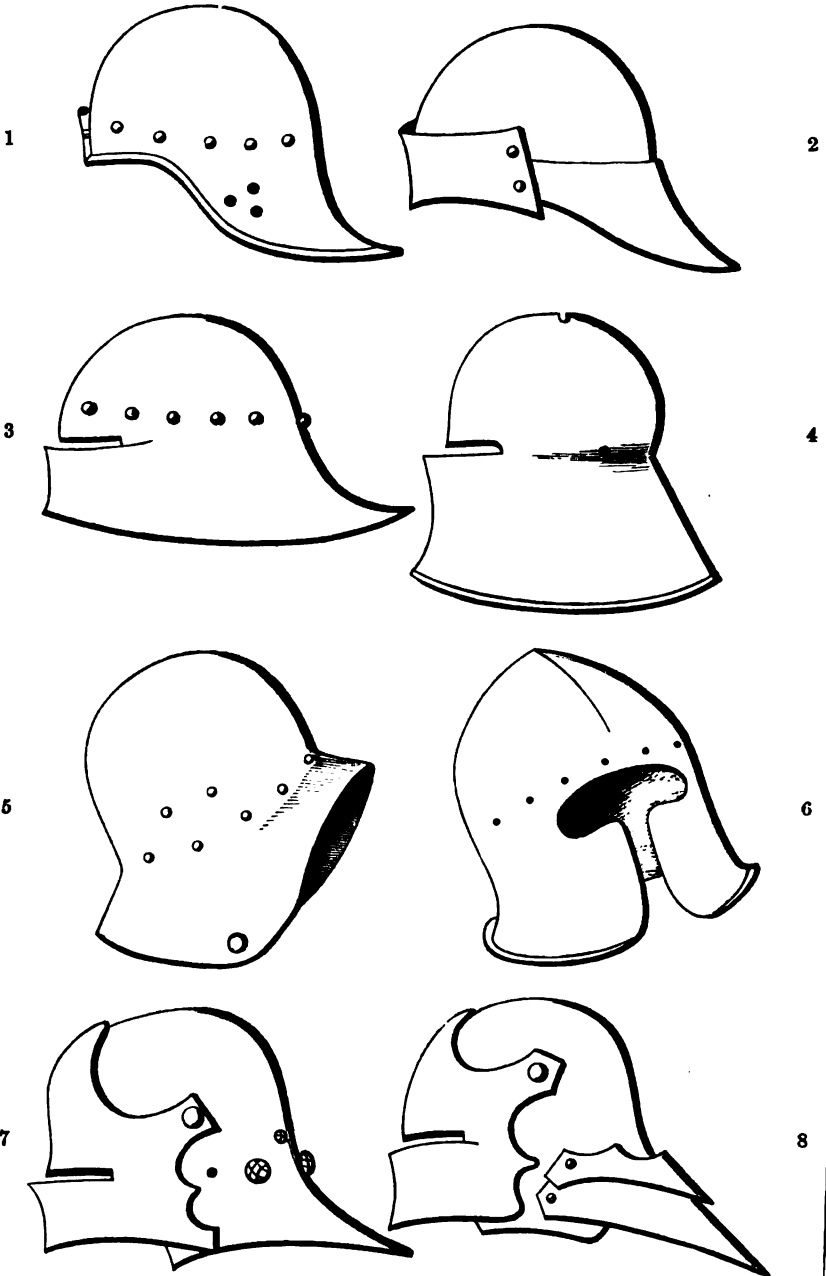
By JOHN HEWITT.

HELMETS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES,
CALLED SALADES.

IN the progress of defensive equipment, the fifteenth century is characterised as the Era of complete plate. Not the body-armour alone, but the head-defence also partook of the change then effected: the old bassinet, which was formed of mail and plate, gave way to a new head-gear made of plate only. This was the Celata, Salade, or Sallet, as we follow the Italian, the French, or the English terminology. And there seems good reason to believe that the Italian *Celada* or *Celata* (see Florio in v.), derived from their verb *celare*, was the first name applied to this casque; and by fair inference that the Italians were the inventors of the thing itself. Meyrick, in his "Critical Inquiry," suggests that "the name had its origin from the German word *schale*, implying a shell" (Glossary, voce *Salett*, ed. 1842); but at p. 94, vol. ii. of the same edition he proposes "a cup," and at p. 116 of the same volume he refers the derivation to "a saucer." The rival claims of a shell, a cup, and a saucer, we must leave to our readers to adjust, and shall not be surprised if they find no resemblance to any of the three.

The Salade *pur-sang* consisted of two parts, the scull-cap with visor, and the beevor or chin-piece; and it was a characteristic of the former that it should come low in the neck behind. But we must bear in mind that, once the word Sallet adopted for a head-piece, the particular component parts were not rigidly exacted. Thus we have, in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, salades with fixed and with moveable visors, with or without beevors, and at length sallets which were in fact nothing more than plain skull-caps. For a royal army in 1543, the mayor and sheriffs of Norwich are to see that "Evry man provide a

PLATE I.



Salades, from the Turkish Arsenal at Rhodes.

capp to put his scull or sallet inne, welche Willm. Tailour, capper of London, dothe make for viiij. a pece" (Norfolk Archæology, vol. i. p. 37). The order for the arming of the *Francs-archiers* of Louis XI. directs that "les Archiers auront les Salades sans visières;" while the lancers, guisarmiers, and cross-bowmen are to have them with visors (Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, i. 243).

The Salade appears to have come in about 1440. Its chief varieties of form are seen in our plates 1 and 2; the first containing examples lately procured from the Turkish arsenal at Rhodes, which, formerly belonging to the Knights of Rhodes, are now deposited in the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich; the second presenting specimens to illustrate special features in the defence under examination. No. 1 of plate 2 gives us the Salade with its mentonnière, and it will be seen that the beavor is fixed to the breast-plate by a screw: the knight, therefore, could not depress this portion, but could obtain abundance of air by throwing back his head; while, by a *forward* movement of his head, he could bring into contact the two parts, and thus obtain all the security this kind of head-piece was calculated to afford. That security was not of a very high order, and hence the changes effected towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the final attainment of the close-helmet of the sixteenth century.

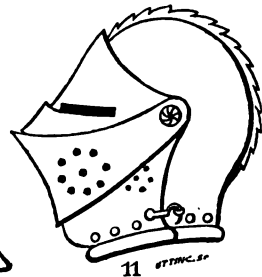
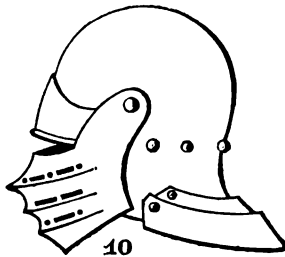
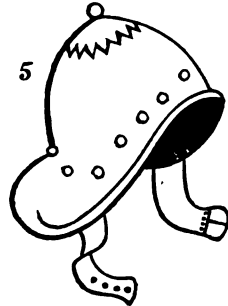
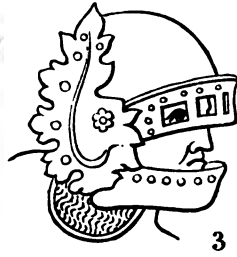
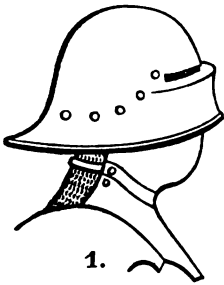
An improvement of the visor is seen in the examples from Rhodes, Nos. 7 and 8, pl. 1, where that portion can be thrown up over the crown of the helmet. No. 8 has the further advantage of an articulated neckpiece. Such sallets as were worn by archers, arbalesters, and the like, are shown in pl. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6, the last being a renewal of the old Greek form so familiar to us from a thousand monuments. It is commonly known among collectors as the "Venetian Salade." Nos. 4 and 5 are very rare and exceptional forms. No. 3 of this group requires its chin-piece, to be complete. Figures of archers, cross-bowmen, and others, combating in Salades with the face more or less disclosed, may be seen in the well-known Warwick pageant (*Julius, E, IV.*), in *Roy. MS.*, 14, E, IV., *Harl. MS.*, 4374, in the plates to Hefner's *Costumes*, the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., and many other evidences of the second half of the fifteenth century. Mixed with them in the same conflicts will

be found the more complete Salade with beevor. Plate 179 of Hefner's Part ii. gives us an example of the sallet with long tail, copied in our second plate, fig. 2. It is worn with a beevor. In some cases the beevors were grated. Grose, at p. 243 of his "Ancient Armour," quotes from an inventory of the time of Edward VI.—"At Hampton Court, sallets with grates." Fig. 3 of our second plate gives one of these grated aventailles from the Tapestry of Aulhac, a work of the fifteenth century (Jubinal's "Tapisseries historiées"). Other examples occur in the same tapestry, and the whole of these wall-pictures are well deserving of an attentive examination by the student of military antiquities. An unusual variety of the visor appears among the drawings of Harl. MS. 4205, where it has a globose form, and is pierced with about a dozen round holes for sight. An example is given in our plate 2, fig. 4.

The beevor, as we have seen, was secured in front by screwing to the breast-plate; at the back it was held by a strap, as shown in Hefner's pl. 45, part 2. The skull-piece also was fastened by a strap passing under the chin, as in our fig. 5, pl. 2, an example supplied by Harl. MS. 4425, fol. 83. The open Salade with Wreath appears in our pl. 2, fig. 7, from Hefner's *Trachten*, part 2, pl. 169, of the fifteenth century. It is worn by a soldier carrying a two-hand martel-de-fer, sword, and oval shield. Plumes of various kinds are of frequent occurrence as adornments of the Salade. The narrow, upright feather is already seen in our fig. 7; and compare 80 of Hefner, part 2. In pls. 1 and 161 of the same work, a single ostrich feather is fixed to the *side* of the casque, and the same arrangement appears in the "Weiss Kunig," cut 38, &c. No. 1 of our Rhodian group has the pipe for a plume, in front; in other cases the plume-socket was placed on the top of the crown. Feathers in clusters were also worn with the knightly salade. No. 6 of our pl. 2, from the Ehrenpforte of the Emperor Maximilian, affords a good example: it is borne by a knight tilting. See also Hefner's plates 74 and 90. Brantôme, in his Memoir of the "Grand Duc d'Albe," describes him as mounted "sur un cheval d'Espagne tout blanc, armé tout à blanc, et de grandes et longues plumes blanches, qui luy pendoient sur sa salade, et sur les espaules bien bas" (vol. 4, p. 61, ed. 1787).

When worn in the tilt, the Salade was not unfrequently

PLATE II.



Helmets of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, called Salades.

adorned with crest, wreath and mantling, as in the figure of Duke Louis of Bavaria, 1449, engraved by Hefner (Trachten, part 2, pl. 44). The royal seals of Richard III. and Henry VII. also exhibit the Salade surmounted by the crest. In a great-seal of Edward IV., the king has Salade with beevor, but no crest. The *grand'-garde* or *manteau d'armes* was commonly worn with the Salade in the joust (see Hefner's plates 74, 89, and 109, and the Tourney-book of Duke William of Bavaria). Maximilian's "Triumph" gives us the "Course appelée Bund," in which the tilters wear with the Salade a *grand'-garde*, so attached that by being successfully struck by the adverse lance, it becomes loose and flies into the air; such a hit being of course counted a prize.

The *Celata*, however welcome to the knight of the fifteenth century, was a sore puzzle to the latteners and marblers of that day, whose aim in the monumental effigies they produced was by no means to "conceal" the features of the departed warrior. They mitigated the embarrassment by giving to the knightly head half its legitimate ornament; one while, according the visored skull-piece minus the beevor, at another supplying the beevor without the cap. Nos. 8 and 9 of our pl. 2 afford examples of both methods; the first from the brass of a Stapilton in Edenhall Church, Cumberland, dated 1458; the second from the monumental statue of Conrad v. Schaumberg, at Wurzburg, 1499. Occasionally they contrived to give both pieces, as in the Ingelheim monuments figured by Hefner, part 2, plates 131 and 136. Hans von Ingelheim, however, under date 1480, only ventures to show his nose and a part of his closed eyes.

From the earliest times of the Salade it was enriched with silver mountings. On the triumphal entry of the French into Rouen in 1449, a body of archers of the Comte de Clermont had "brigandines et harnois de jambes, et leurs Salades pour la plus grande partie garnies d'argent" (De Coucy, Hist. de Charles VII., p. 593, ed. 1661). Compare Chartier, p. 215, and the Institution of the Compagnies d'Ordonnance in 1445.

To the Salade was sometimes accorded the high honour of receiving the Pope's blessing, in the view of its being presented to some distinguished champion of the church. Brantôme tells us, in his "Discours sur le Grand Duc d'Albe,"

"Il eut encore un autre trophée, que le bon Pape Pie Quinte luy envoya, une Salade et une Espée bénite, qui est un présent et honneur qui a accoustumé d'estre donné par les Papes aux grands princes et illustres capitaines qui ont bravement combattu pour le soustien de l'Eglise, et en sont sortis victorieux" (vol. iv. p. 67).

Notwithstanding the improvements in the Salade, this head-piece by no means fulfilled the requirements of the soldier. Especially, the mere contact of visor and beavor was a fatal weakness; for an adroit thrust of lance, sword, or bill, would inflict a terrible face-wound, if not totally disable the wearer. To obviate this disadvantage, a helmet was constructed, in which those two pieces were merged together, a contrivance represented in our fig. 10, pl. 2. This *transitional* form, of the close of the fifteenth century, while it better defended the face, still left the neck unprotected. Again the Wayland Smiths of the day plied their hammers, and at length the *Close Helmet* of the sixteenth century was achieved. Of this the varieties are very numerous, but it will suffice here to invite attention to the so-called "Burgonet" or *Bourguignotte*, of which we give a sketch in pl. 2, fig. 11. The arrangement of it is very ingenious: the visor and beavor overlap each other, and are made fast by hook and staple, or by spring-bolts; to guard the neck there is a hollow rim, which fits over the *projecting* rim of the gorget and thus holds the two pieces together, while it permits the wearer to move his head freely to right or left. Thus the "Defence" was for the moment triumphant, and for a moment only. No sooner had the armour-smith given the advantage to protective Steel, than aggressive Lead advanced to dispute the claim; and very soon the *cause célèbre* of Bullet versus Burgonet was decided in favour of the former.

TALISMANS AND AMULETS.

By CHARLES W. KING, M.A.

ALTHOUGH these terms are usually confounded together, their proper meaning is entirely distinct. *Talisman* is no more than the corruption in the Arabian mouth of the Greek ἀποτέλεσμα the influence of a planet or Zodiacal sign upon the person born under the same; whence came the technical term for astrology ἡ ἀποτελεσματική. Now the influence of every *degree* in each sign was typified by a fanciful figure, or group, painted in the "Table of Myriogeneses" (a term to be explained farther on), and thus, by a natural transition, in course of time the symbol itself usurped the name, *Apotelesma*, of the idea which at first it was only meant to portray. A *talisman* was therefore by its very nature a *sigil*, symbolical figure, whether engraved in stone or metal, or drawn upon parchment and paper. An excellent illustrative example is the one figured by Raspe, No. 354, where the Abraxas god, carrying the lustral vase, is encircled by the ungrammatical invocation of its Alexandrian fabricator, ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΔΟΤΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΕΡΟΥΣΙΝ "Give unto the bearers favour in the sight of all men." The talisman, therefore, served both to procure love and to avert danger from its possessor.

The latter purpose alone was the object of the *amulet*, a word probably derived, to judge by the thing it originally designated, from rustic Latinity, its root being *amolior*, "to do away with," or baffle. The, at first sight, so specious etymology from the Arabic *hamalet*, "suspended," is overthrown by Pliny's notice of its primary signification, which shows it to be a genuine old Latin term, and not imported by the Oriental magicians of imperial times. For he cites the word as the countryfolks' name for the cyclamen, "which ought to be planted in every house, if it be indeed true that where it is grown poisonous drugs have no power to harm ;

on which account they call the flower *amuletum*.”¹ Afterwards the name of the flower came to be applied to other natural objects possessing the like virtue ; for Pliny, speaking of amber, observes “*infantibus alligari amuleti modo prodest.*” It may here be remarked that the only *amuletum* provided by nature that preserves its ancient reputation in our own day is the “child’s caul,” still to be seen advertised at the regular price of five guineas, and readily saleable to sea-faring folks as a sure protection from all danger of drowning. But with the Romans, as Lampridius tells us (*Diadumenian. III.*), its efficacy was of a different kind, and in fact only affected that profession held of all others in the greatest detestation by sailors ; for the Roman midwives used to sell the membrane stripped off the fortunate infant’s head “to credulous lawyers, who believed that they prospered through possessing it.”

Many other things, both animal and vegetable, the stranger in shape the more efficacious, had the power of counteracting the ever-dreaded Evil Eye ; amongst which stands pre-eminent the Greek *phallus*, the Latin *fascinum*, either represented in its actual form or by the fist with the fingers so closed as to suggest the same obscene idea. The first stroke only of the fearful influence was fatal, hence whatever diverted it from the person, in so doing destroyed its force. For such a purpose what could serve better than anything odd, strange, indecent, and thereby unlikely to be exposed to view ? The *phallus* was, of course, the first to suggest itself, and was followed, more decorously, by numerous other articles bearing some supposed analogy to the idea it conveyed. With this meaning a locust, or rather mole-cricket, of bronze was set up by Pisistratus, says Hesychius, in the Acropolis as a *καταχρη* (literally “a thing to stare at”), or charm against the Evil Eye ;² and the insect itself is perpetually repeated on gems with a similar intention. The skull of an ass stuck upon a pole in the middle of a vineyard was accounted the best preservative against blight ; and this usage long held its ground in Tuscany, for Boccaccio makes an amusing use

¹ “*A nostris Tuber Terræ vocatur, in omnibus serenda domibus si verum est ubi sata est nihil nocere mala medicamenta : amuletum vocant : narrantque et ebrietatem representari addita in vinum.*”

² With the same view “certain laughable objects” were set up in front of potters’ furnaces, to avert the mischances to which their manufacture is so peculiarly liable. Pollax.

of it in one of his tales, where the lady telegraphs there-with her husband's absence to her lover, by turning the skull in a particular direction. (Day vi. Nov. 1.)

I shall now proceed to illustrate the foregoing definitions by describing the most remarkable examples in either class that have come under my observation. Those only are quoted which declare their intention in an intelligible language, to the exclusion of the purely Gnostic, although, by the light of the former, we may safely conjecture the purport of those long inscriptions in an unknown tongue, which, if interpreted, may be supposed to contain prayers of the same kind as others less carefully shrouded from the understanding of the profane.

A large round disk of loadstone, still extremely powerful (belonging to myself) is engraved with the three Graces, and the legend—ZHCEC ZABATI—'long life to thee, Sabatius!' Reverse, Horus seated on the lotus, with ANA-ΘANABAA in a continuous circle around him: on the margin, declaring the purpose of the talisman, CY NIKAC ΠΑΝΤΕC (sic). Of much the same character is another gem of mine, a bloodstone bearing a spirited engraving of a race-horse carrying the palm of victory in his mouth, and his name, TIBERIS, added. The reverse exhibits the Power to whose favour the pious *turfite* of old had ascribed his success, in the person of the Abraxas god with the invocation on the stone's edge, ZACTA ΙΑΩ ΒΑΡΙΑ. Raspe's invaluable repertory³ supplies many curious instances of the sort. His No. 630, a magic symbol inscribed with the frequently-occurring formula CAABANA XAMBPH, presents for reverse the inscription ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟC—ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC—ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟC—ΕΚΑΤΗ—ΕΠΗΚΩ—ΕΥΧΗΝ: which seems to mark the gem for an *ex voto*, dedicated by Pamphilus to Hecate in return for some unlooked-for piece of good luck. Another, No. 625, inscribed ΘΩΧ—ΘΩΧΑΜ—CΩZE ΒΑΡΙΝ, invokes this oddly-titled Power⁴ to protect Baris. In No. 611, five lines of unintelligible letters have for reverse CHC—OMO—NOIAC, showing that the former contained a charm for

³ Rud. E. Raspe, Catalogue raisonné d'une collection générale de pierres gravées, &c., moulées par J. Tassie. In English and French. London, 2 vols., 4to, 1791.

⁴ "Amidst, amidst them," Heb., perhaps equivalent to "Omnipresent Spirit," or perhaps, "Thou that sittest between the Cherubim."

ensuring concord between the donor and the wearer of the jasper.

It may not be out of place here to observe that certain prescriptions of those eminent Roman physicians, Alexander, Marcellus, and Sammonicus (to be quoted under their proper heading) afford reasonable ground for suspicion, that amongst those legacies of the hidden wisdom of Egypt, the regular, as yet untranslated Gnostic formulæ, many, instead of enjoying the high dignity of being passports to eternal bliss, or else words of power over demons, were to those that understood them, mere charms against the gout and colic—complaints which seem to have provokingly set at defiance the legitimate practice of the sons of Esculapius. For Egypt continued under the Cæsars, a great centre of medical science: Pliny, when mentioning the introduction from that region, the land of lepers, into Italy, of the *mentagra*, face-leprosy, adds that it brought over to Rome a multitude of practitioners, who attended to that disease exclusively. Their mode of treatment was deep cauterization, the remedy being, says the historian, worse than the evil itself, from the frightful disfigurement of the face resulting therefrom. The profits accruing to these empirics were enormous; they contracted beforehand for a fixed sum, on the terms of "no cure no pay," and arranged their price accordingly. Manilius Cornutus, governor of Aquitaine, is quoted as having paid H.S.CC. (*ducenta* must be meant) or about 2000*l.* for the job.

To return to amulets in their strictest sense. One of the most singular, and frequently occurring both on bas-reliefs and gems, represents the dreaded Eye itself as the centre of a circle of symbols radiating from it, and all working together to baffle its stroke. A Praun gem displays the organ of fascination, thus circumscribed by a lion, stag, dog, thunderbolt, dove, and serpent; the easily recognisable attributes of the deities presiding over the days of the week, whose influence and protection against the *malocchio* were thereby ingeniously invoked. But the completest set of all the amulets most in repute amongst the Romans was that making up the necklace lately found on the skeleton of a Pompeian lady, in the house of Holconius. Separated by beads and canopic vases hang terminal figures of Isis, Anubis, and Silenus, two jackals, two phalli, an open hand, a *manus obscæna*, astragal, wheel, die, bunch of grapes, pine-cone,

panther, with a cigala forming the centre. This discovery explains the use of the same objects so often turned up separately.

The *bullā*, a gold case, circular or heart-shaped, worn round the neck by the Roman boys, was a true amulet, for in the beginning, says Macrobius, it was the special ornament of the victorious general in the triumphal procession, "having enclosed within it such remedies as they esteemed the most efficacious against the stroke of envy."⁵ Probably this hidden safeguard was some written spell, for the *bullā* came from the Etruscans, those great charm-mongers of Italy. In fact the specimen (No. 254, Mus. Nap. III.) at Paris was found when opened to contain, folded up, a thin leaf of silver, inscribed with eighteen lines in Greek, mixed with cyphers, interpreted as a prayer to the gods of Olympus, joined with an invocation of the infernal deities. This "Etruscum aurum," restricted to patrician children, was replaced amongst the plebeians by a leather pouch, "nodus tantum et signum de paupere lozo," but with contents of equal virtue. And in addition to the *bullā*, a number of other fantastic objects, of the same character as in the Pompeian necklace just cited, were strung together around babies' necks, as their portraits often show, furnishing amusement by their clinking together, whence the whole appendage got its name of *crepundia*.

To protect oneself against evil influences by wearing *spells*, that is, as the name denotes, mystic words *written* out upon leather or parchment, is a practice going back to immemorial antiquity, perhaps the very first use to which the art of writing was applied. Pericles, in his last illness, showed a friend calling to see him such a thing, that his women had tied round his neck for a last resource when all medicine failed, saying, with a sad smile, it proved him ill indeed to have consented to such folly (Plutarch). Anaxilas, quoted by Athenæus, describes the Athenian fop of those days as wearing the "Ephesian spell" handsomely printed upon parchment strips :—

ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φέρων
Εφέσια γράμματα καλὰ.

⁵ See in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. p. 112, vol. viii. p. 166, observations by Mr. James Yates on the *bullā*

worn by Roman boys; several examples are there figured.

This most venerable of charms was the words in an unknown language graven upon the zone and feet of the Ephesian Diana, and preserved to us by Hesychius, viz., **ΑΣΚΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΙ ΑΙΞ ΤΕΤΡΑΞ ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥΣ ΑΙΣΙΟΝ**, whereof the traditional interpretation was "Light, darkness, Himself, the sun, truth." These words, according to Plutarch (Sympos.), the Magi used to recite over those *possessed with devils*; and the name **ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥΣ** is actually found on a Gnostic amulet (De la Turbie) around the type of a mummy enfolded by a serpent, his good genius. As a title of the sun, its appropriateness to a Mithraic gem is sufficiently obvious. Another very ancient example of a spell is that composed by the diviner, Battus, to drive away pestilence, and sung for that purpose by the Milesians, which Clemens Alexandrinus has preserved:—

**ΒΕΔΥ ΞΑΜΥ ΧΘΩ ΠΛΗΚΤΡΟΝ ΣΦΙΓΞ
ΚΝΑΞΒΙ ΧΘΥΠΤΗΣ ΦΛΕΓΜΑ ΔΡΟΥ**

where he explains the first four words as meaning Air, Sea, Earth, Sun. The Jews, on the restoration of their kingdom, practised the same custom, substituting, however, for these heathenish words certain verses out of the Law, which, being supposed of power to avert all evil and mischief from the wearer (they were bound round the head), received the appellation of *phylacteries*, φυλακτήρια, that is, safeguards. The same belief yet flourishes amongst Mohammedans, especially the African, who employ verses of the Koran with similar confidence in their efficacy. A remarkable illustration of this is offered by certain Oriental mail-shirts, every ring of which is stamped with some holy word, thus converting the whole into an endless tissue of amulets—in every sense, "decus et tutamen in armis." Now-a-days the same spells, *grigris* is their proper title, are sewed profusely over the dress, enclosed in little metal or leather cases.

That the same fashion was equally prevalent under the Lower Empire is apparent from innumerable passages in writers of the time. To cite one of the most curious, Gregory Nazianzen (Or. xl. 18), exclaims, "Your child hath no need for amulets and spells, in company wherewith the Evil One likewise maketh his entrance, robbing God of his glory amongst the lighter-minded; but give to him (in baptism) the Trinity, that great and glorious mystery." And the Greek epigram—

matists, with whom, as with the wits of Molière's time, physicians were ever held fair game, forget not to bring in the superstition for their benefit. Take this example,

Ερμωγενή τὸν ἱατρὸν ἰδὼν Διοφάντος ἐν ὑπνοῖς
οὐκετ' ἀπηγέρθη, καὶ περλάμμα φέρων.

"In slumber sound was Diophantus laid,
When a dire dream Hermogenes portrayed ;
He saw the leech—enough ! he woke no more,
Spite of the guardian amulet he wore."

Pliny (xxviii. 5) quotes, with ill-disguised ridicule, the singular superstition of his all-powerful and learned friend, the "king-maker," Mucianus, who used to carry as a preservative against ophthalmia a live fly tied up in linen.⁶ Another noted man of his day, the Consul Q. Serv. Nonianus, wore for the same purpose, tied about his neck, a paper inscribed with the Greek letters *P A* ; the virtue whereof perhaps lay in their expressing the Egyptian name of the Sun.

Most of the Gnostic stones have clearly been intended for wear as amulets, and not for setting in rings, a purpose for which their often large dimensions quite unfit them. This last peculiarity would lead one to suspect that such stones were usually carried about in the purse or zone, both for their special object and also to be readily producible at pleasure, as credentials amongst the faithful, and as means of introducing one *illuminato* or *ami de la lumière* to another. To such a custom, derived from the more ancient *tessara*, by means whereof the general circulated amongst his troops the word for the day—"It belli tessara signum,"—does St. John evidently allude in the promise, "To him that overcometh will I give a white stone, and in the stone a *new Name* written, which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it." The word used here, *ψῆφος*, a *gem*, contains a palpable reference to the *white calcedony*, that regular material for those talismans, covered with interminable legends, the attempt at whose interpretation will, after all his pains, convince the baffled antiquary of the truth of the concluding part of the "sainted seer's" declaration. That such things were

⁶ Which notion may perhaps more reasonably explain the frequent appearance of the insect in gems than the usual theory of its reference to Baalzebub,

whose protection is supposed to have thereby been secured against those blood-thirsty swarms of whom he was the lord.

intended to be carried about the person, not ostentatiously displayed, is furthermore shown by the old Arabian storyteller's notice how that the Princess Badoura's talisman, "a cornelian engraved with strange figures and letters," was carried by her in a small purse sewed on to her jewelled girdle.

The devices seen on certain talismans, for example, the lion bestriding a corpse, or the captive bound to a pillar surmounted by a gryphon, almost prove that they were made to be given to him "that overcometh," the neophyte who had passed through all the trials preceding initiation ; and their existence may explain Augustine's "image of the demon purchased with bloodshedding" in the Mithraic mysteries. As to the grand seat and authors of the manufacture we are not left in doubt, for Epiphanius, when mentioning that Manes, after his "Mysteries" and "Treasury" wrote likewise an "Astrology," adds, "For these sectaries are so far from eschewing the forbidden art, that the head and front of their boast is the science of *astronomy* ;⁷ and moreover the making of *amulets*, that is to say things for wearing round the neck, *periapta*, and incantations, and all such trickery." The use of *periapta* in their proper sense yet survives amongst the German Jews, for, when the sick man is at the last gasp, the attendants bind about his head and arm certain knotted leather thongs.⁸ Similarly, a Jew about to be executed thus prepares himself to meet his fate. And in Turkish medical practice a sovereign cure for apoplexy is to encircle the head with a parchment strip painted with the signs of the zodiac.

That all such matters were properly designed to be tied round, or hung from, the person is sufficiently manifest from their generic appellation, *periapta*. This, with their universal use, appears from Spartian's remark when, to place in the strongest light the capricious cruelty of Caracalla, he says that he put to death "et qui remedia quartanis tertianisque

⁷ Another and undesigned testimony, this, to the primarily astrological nature of talismanic figures.

⁸ These are probably identical with the phylacteries, according to the actual use of objects so designated Tephillim, in the Hebrew ritual, and worn in the synagogue service on the forehead and on the left arm, being attached by long thongs

of calf-skin, curiously knotted. These objects consist of small leathern boxes, enclosing four inscribed rolls, and a single roll, respectively. To these boxes the knotted thongs are attached. The fashion of the Tephillim may be seen in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, v. Frontlets.

collo suspensa gestarunt.”⁹ In fact, the only Gnostic stone known to me as retaining its antique setting is one adapted for the purpose. It is a red jasper, oval, engraved with a mummy erect, having its head radiated, type of the soul released and glorified, inscribed ABPACAZ; reverse, the Abraxas god himself and ΙΑΩ below. The stone, nearly an inch long, is mounted in a rudely-made gold frame, having a broad loop soldered on for the cord, after the fashion of the mounted medallions of the Lower Empire.

This unique example rewarded my search amongst the miscellaneous gems of the British Museum, where, at the same time, I recognised many of the finest in the Gnostic Series published by Chifflet more than two centuries ago—another proof of the well-known axiom, that the curiosities of the entire world ultimately gravitate towards London as their centre-point of attraction. In their number, particular attention is due to the immense sard, covered on both sides with a long formula, agreeing word for word with that on the celebrated Hertz garnet, and Chifflet’s calcedony; a repetition that declares the importance of these mystic words, intended either for recitation over a sacrifice, or to accompany the defunct *illuminato* into the grave, for the same beneficial end as the set of prayers prescribed in the “Schema of the Ophites.” A third singular relic, belonging to the last phase of the Gnosis, is a large, egg-shaped calcedony, bearing the lion-headed man (perhaps *Ourotel*, the great god of the Aúbians, identified by Herodotus with Dionysos), encompassed with a long legend in the latest Pehlevi, or rather Cufic lettering, and agreeing perfectly in style with the latest Sassanian stamps.

An appropriate conclusion to this inquiry will be a description of the “Table of Myriogeneses (properly, Moriogeneses),” alluded to in the beginning. That such Tables formed one great repertory for the talisman-makers may be inferred from Ptolemy’s observation in his “Carpus,” Aph. ix.¹: “The figures (στοιχεῖα), in their rise and decline are

⁹ Probably alluding to the famous Abracadabra, which the first physician of the age, Sammonicus, directs how to write on parchment and wear for the same purpose. De Foe mentions its general use, and the belief in its efficacy during the Great Plague of London.

¹ See the treatises entitled *De sculpturis lapidum*, and *Liber Secretus fili-*

orum Israel, printed from MS. Harl. 80, and MS. Arundel, 342, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. pp. 449, 451; also the extract from “*Le Livre Techel des philosophes et des Indois et dit entre des enfans d’Israel*,” *ibid.*, p. 454, from the French *Lapidaire*, printed by Le Roux de Lincy, in his *Livre des Legendes*.

affected by the heavenly bodies, on which account the *στοιχειοματικοί* employ them by observing the entrance of the planets into them :” where the Arabic translation renders the Greek name of these professors by “talisman-makers.” And there is another interesting thing about these strange creations of the ancient astrologers’ fancy; they would seem to have supplied many of the Sigils which the Mediæval Lapidaria describe as existing on gems, or “*Pierres d’Israel*,” but which, for the most part, do not now present themselves upon any such relics of antiquity. Scaliger (Manilius, Not. p. 487), has translated the entire Table, describing the *Ascendants* in each Sign as they were represented by the Arabian astrologers, who, in their turn, pretended to be transcribing the manuals of their ancient Egyptian predecessors in the science. To give here the *degrees* of the first Ascendant in Aries alone will amply suffice to exhibit the truly unclassical nature of the representations themselves, and equally, their close affinity in taste to the Sigils so highly valued by the mediæval doctors.

Arsiccan, Mars, First Decanus in Aries, gives courage and impudence to him that is born under the same. 1st Degree. Man holding in his right hand a pruning-hook, in his left a cross-bow. 2. Dog-headed Man with right hand extended, a wand in his left. 3. Man holding out various ornaments in his right hand, his left placed in his girdle. 4. Man with curly hair; in his right hand a hawk, in his left a whip. 5. Two men; one cleaving wood with an axe, the other holding a sceptre. 6. King, carrying in his right hand the orb, in his left the sceptre. 7. Man in armour, holding an arrow. 8. Man with a helmet on his head, in his right hand a cross-bow. 9. Man bareheaded, in his left hand a sword. 10. Man spearing a wild boar.

All these types were expressive of analogous predispositions and natural qualities in the *native*, under each degree. Taking the hint from this list, Scaliger explains (and very plausibly) many of those composite figures carrying zodiacal signs in their hands, and which are commonly accounted as Gnostic works, to be in reality genuine representations of these Myriogeneses, and intended to personify the astral influence of the particular degree upon the infant whose destiny it governed.

(To be continued.)

CELTIC SPOONS.

By the VERY REV. CANON ROCK, D.D.

WHILST excavations, lately made in Rome and its neighbourhood, have brought to light spoons that have been lying buried, perhaps a thousand years, every now and then, very recently, odd chances have been finding for us in these islands other spoons of an older age, and fashioned after quite another form. In the recent number of the "*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*" for November and December, A.D. 1868, its far-famed editor—an honorary member of our Institute—has sent forth, drawn up in his accustomed lucid and learned manner, an article entitled "*Cucchiari d'argento adorni di simboli e nomi Cristiani*," and along with it a plate on which are shown, figured in beautiful metalized colouring, several of them. In this paper the Cav. Giovanni De Rossi tells us that, besides other silver spoons which have been found at Porto—on the banks of the Tiber near Ostia,—nine others of the same metal have come to light during the last year (1868) in places about Rome: these he deems to be of the fifth century. The bowls are narrow, and drop about a quarter of an inch below the handle, which is long and tapers to almost a point; in fact, excepting the midriff in the bowls, they are quite like our precious coronation spoon spoken of at the end of this Memoir.

One of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Albert Way, whom we all so highly esteem, and to whose untiring zeal the cause of British archæology is so much beholden, has, with his usual judicious industry, brought together, figured and illustrated in the present volume of our Journal, not a few like appliances, though made after a type altogether different from the old Roman fashion.

Those wide but shallow Late Celtic spoons of bronze, with handles of the very shortest kind, and, in shape, quite like those horn scoops now used for household purposes, must have for us a deep historic value, thinking, as we do, that

they speak of two curious facts among the manners of the Celtic tribes who once lived in these islands. From the first of these two facts we learn the sort of food which was so common among them, as to be deemed by continental strangers to form the national dish of the Britons, the Scotch, and Irish Celts.

A strong proof of this may be obtained where we least of all might have thought to look for it. That learned father of the Latin part of the Church, St. Jerom, was sometimes wont to let off a spurt of wit at his literary antagonist.

During the early years of the fifth century, among the followers of our British philosopher, Morgan, who changed his Celtic name into its Greek equivalent, Pelagius, there was a certain Celestius, by birth an Irishman—one of a hot and hasty temper. Perhaps it may be needful here to say that of old “Scotus” and “Scotia” were the then respective appellations for “Irishman” and “Ireland.” While roaming over Christendom, this noisy Celt busied himself in spreading the heretical opinions of his more wary teacher Pelagius, in upholding which he ran foul against St. Jerom, whose strong and unanswerable arguments against Pelagianism he seemed not to understand. To account for this dunder-headedness shown by Celestius in the controversy, the learned doctor of the church tells him that he crams himself overmuch with Irish porridge ;—“Nec intelligit (Celestius) Scotorum pultibus prægravatus” (S. Hieronimus in prophetam Hieremiam). Now, reader, just shadow forth to yourself this same Celestius and some friends seated at some meal with, in their midst, an earthenware pot having four handles, so that it could be easily drawn to his own side by any individual guest,—a pot, in fact, like the one found on Portland Isle, and lately figured in this Journal (vol. xxv., p. 50, *ante*),—and you will see at once that while these spoons, by their shallow wideness, answered their every meal’s purpose of cooling, at the will of him who had to sip from out of it, the portion he had ladled for himself from the seething mess, they, at the same moment, show us a passage of the every-day life of the Celts, whether living here, in Ireland, or on the western shores of Gaul.

Now for the second, and, as I look upon it, far more curious and important fact shown by these old spoons.

They almost always occur in pairs, and are occasionally

found at springs of water, or in rivers. Besides this circumstance, one, and only one of the two spoons, has bored through it a hole invariably in the same spot, just below the lip and about midway on its left-hand side, or, if I may be allowed to say so—presuming the holder of this spoon to stand looking to the north—this hole is found at its south quarter.

That such spoons could never have served, either in the Latin or any of the Oriental liturgies, for the distribution to the laity of the Holy Eucharist, is to my mind quite certain. All over the Church, up to about the tenth century, the people drank out of one of those so-called ministerial two-handled chalices (a glorious one of which, beautifully enamelled, has just been found in Ireland), as may be seen well shown upon that fine Greek embroidery upon the Imperial Dalmatic sent to the Roman Pontiff from Constantinople, and now kept in St. Peter's at the Vatican. About the tenth century, it would seem that the use of the long-handled spoon or "*labida*" was introduced among the Greeks; but in these western parts, for partaking of the chalice, were used gold, silver, or ivory reeds, about which I have spoken, in the "Church of Our Fathers" (t. i., pp. 161, &c.) For Eucharistic purposes, never, at any time, in the liturgy of this country, was employed any spoon, but a very small one with a deep bowl—just like our present salt-spoons—for spilling two or three drops of water before consecration into the chalice—a ritual practice yet followed by some among us in this country. The "*labida*" of the Greek liturgy is long as well as narrow in its bowl, so that it and its contents can be taken into the mouth with the utmost ease: the Celtic spoons are much too broad for the purpose. In no part of the Church would an appliance have been allowed in the service of distributing the Holy Eucharist, through which, as through that hole in one of the spoons, the merest atom of the sacred species might by any possibility have fallen on the ground. That same opening, moreover, instead of a help, would have become a hindrance to the ready drainage of the spoon before putting it by after service.

That these specimens of Celtic handicraft were, at one period or another, set aside by some of that people for the especial service of the Christian Church in some of her rites

seems beyond a doubt, from finding upon them, after they had been cast, certain emblems of Christianity scratched roughly. In the bowl of one we see the sign of the cross; upon the handle of another three circles, the symbol of three distinct persons in the one same Godhead.

What was then the use meant for them—was it liturgical? if so, to what rite were they appropriated? I answer, for giving the sacrament of Baptism—one for holding the oil of the Catechumens; the second, the one with the hole, for holding the oil of chrism, or, as we used to call it, “cream.” In support of this opinion, I wish to lay a heavy stress upon some facts belonging to these spoons. They are sometimes found close by some running water, or at a well, in couples, and with a hole pierced at a particular place in one, and only one of the pair.

Even to this day, the rites for Baptism have much of symbolism—in the first ages of the Church they had much more about them. But, first of all, I must bring to the reader’s mind a few passages in Holy Writ. While on their road from Egypt to the Land of Promise, the Israelites wandered forty years through the wilderness, which fact they were afterwards told to keep in remembrance by yearly holding the Feast of Tabernacles. In the new Law, our Lord was baptised by John in Jordan’s waters running through a desert. At the beginning of Christianity, the Church never gave baptism to anybody, except in danger of death, but at the end of the Lenten forty days’ fast—during which the Catechumens had undergone instruction—on Easter morning at day-dawn, and at Witsuntide.¹ Now, see how the living waters, flowing through the wilderness of fields and tabernacles in deserts were shown forth by the ceremonials followed among the Celts, at the Easter-tide baptism. By our own Beda—who copies the whole passage from an older writer, Constantius, in his life of St. Germanus, whom the Celts called Garmon,—we are told, while reciting what preceded the celebrated Alleluiatic victory won by the Celts, probably at Mold, in Flintshire, led on by this same Gaulish bishop against the invading Saxons and Picts :—“Aderant etiam

¹ “Whitsunday” is a most erroneous way of spelling. The reason given, that on Pentecost the Church’s colour is white, is perfectly wrong; it is red or fire

colour, not white. The root of the word is *wit* or understanding. In the Promptorium Parvulorum it is written *Whysson tyde*.

Quadragesimae venerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat praesentia sacerdotum, in tantum, ut quotidianis praedicationibus instituti certatim populi ad gratiam baptismatis convolarent; nam maxima exercitus multitudo undam lavacri salutaris expetiit, et ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis Dominicae frondibus contexta componitur atque in expeditione campestri instar civitatis aptatur.”²

This preference among the Celts for “living water” in the administration of baptism is further shown in a passage from the life of St. Columba, written by the Irish Adamnan:—“Cum Sanctus in sua conversaretur peregrinatione, infans ei per parentes ad baptizandum offertur iter agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, ejusdem rupis frontem benedixit, de qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in qua continuo infantem baptizavit.”³ Such passages show us that, whenever they could, the Celts in these islands used, instead of the still or, so to say, dead water kept about the house for ordinary purposes, the living waters of a stream or a spring, for baptism; hence these baptismal spoons are sometimes found in rivers or at springs, or by the side of some well-spring where they had been dropped and lost, perhaps even left on purpose under the guardianship of religion.

As now, so then, two distinct anointings, each with a particular oil, took place at baptism: the first with olive oil, on the breast and between the shoulders, in the form of a cross, rubbed there by the right-hand thumb that had been dipped in the consecrated oil held in that spoon without a hole; while yet standing in the water under which the catechumen had been three times plunged; the second and principal anointing was given to this neophyte within the tabernacle woven for the ceremony, of fresh and budding boughs. The oil here used was olive, but plentifully mingled with the costly and sweet-smelling balsam or balm of Gilead. Among the Celtic people this second oil was not, like the first, merely rubbed as now, but actually poured out upon the crown of the head where it was made to trickle in the shape of a cross. To do this well and accurately, so as not to spill it where it ought not to fall, the second or pierced spoon

² Hist. Ecc. lib. i. c. xx. ed. Stevenson, p. 41.

³ Vita S. Columbæ, ed. W. Reeves, p. 118.

was employed. Holding this in his right hand, the celebrant let flow slowly through the small hole little drops of the chrism, so that it might take the shape of a cross upon the neophyte's head; and while this anointing was meant to imply the teaching of St. John (1 Epist. c. ii., v. 20), it took for itself the word *χρῖσμα*, used by the Apostle. The very earliest hitherto known forms for baptism are those that were used in Gaul; to whose people our Celts were alike in their heathen, as well as afterwards their Christian, belief and ceremonial. Now, in those "ordines," as they were called, the rubric directs this chrism to be poured out precisely after the same way in which the same chrism is directed, by a rubric in the sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great, to be poured out upon the water in the font, as it is hallowed for baptism, on Holy Saturday:—"Inde accipiens vas aureum cum chrismate, fundit chrisma in fonte."⁴ And in our own Anglo-Saxon service for the coronation of a king, at which the bishop poured out from a horn the oil upon the prince's head:—"Hic verget oleum cum cornu super capud ipsius,"⁵ and not to be, as at present, rubbed, but poured out upon the head, as we see from the words "infusio," in the old Gallican form given in the codex edited by Mabillon, "*Liturgia Gallicana*" (p. 364), and "suffundis," in a codex published by the same great Benedictine monk (p. 325, *Museum Italicum*, t. i.). Though upheld by no internal authority, but an idea of his own, Mabillon chose to call this missal the "*Sacramentarium Gallicanum*." I think I could show, were this the place, that the venerable codex found at Bobbio, in the ancient Lombardy, is one of the very missals brought with him by the Irish Columbanus from Ireland itself to Bobbio, which monastery that great saint founded, or, at least, is the copy of such a liturgical codex, and therefore ought to be designated not sacramentarium "*Gallicanum*," but "*Hibernicanum*." At all events, this "infusion" or "suffusion" of the chrism, which was performed with the perforated spoon, is remarkably illustrated by a passage in the life of the far-famed St. Brigid of Kildare, in which her biographer—very likely St. Ultan, A.D. 656—tells us: "*Magus dormiens vidit duos clericos vestibibus albis indutos effundere oleum super caput puellae, ordinem baptismi complentes consueto more.*"

⁴ *Sancti Gregorii Liber Sacramentorum*, ed. Menardo, p. 75. Parisii, A.D., 1642.

⁵ Egbert's Pontifical, p. 101.

Unus autem ex illis dixit: Hanc virginem vocate Brigidam." ⁶ The importance given among Celts to this unction, whether at baptism or confirmation, may be furthermore seen in the words of St. Patrick in his letter to the British prince, Coroticus, to whom that apostle of the Irish says, while upbraiding his cruelty: "Postera die qua chrismati neophyti in veste candida," &c. ⁷

From whatever side, whether domestic or ritual, we look at them, these spoons are highly curious and valuable. Whatever be the real age of the objects before us—they may be very old, and in after Christian days set apart for holy use and marked with the sign of the cross—no doubt, in them we behold the shape after which the oldest Celts fashioned this article of household furniture, and in Christian times, for ritual requirements. The cross on them would take them back to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century; but from the three little circles within a larger circle occurring on the handle in one of them, we may safely lean to the opinion that they may be of the end of the fifth century, when Pelagianism had been condemned by the Church throughout Christendom, and put to flight in these islands by the two visits here of St. Germanus: the great atonement for original sin, and all other sin, made by Our Lord at Calvary, is set forth by the figure of the cross; the necessity of baptism for new-born infants, and all others is symbolised by those three circles all within a larger one, as the form of that sacrament then was as it now is:—In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost—doctrines which were, by implication, denied by the heresy of Pelagius.

Here starts up before us a very curious, and, to all here in England, important question, which now asks, as it has been asking for itself an answer these thousand years and more, What was the mode of administering baptism among the Britons?

At the celebrated meeting between St. Austin, the first archbishop of Canterbury, and the seven bishops and several monks from Bangor, with Dinorth at their head, whose supposititious speech, a glaring forgery, coined not more than three centuries ago, may be seen in the Cottonian MS., Claudius,

⁶ Vita S. Brigidæ, apud Acta SS. ed. Bolland. Februarii, t. i, p. 119.

⁷ S. Patricii Epist. ad Coroticum, Acta SS. ed. Bolland. t. ii Martii, p. 533.

A., viii. p. 76, and is published by Spelman and by Wilkins—that apostle of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers thus addressed the British clergy:—“*Quia in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, imo universalis ecclesiae, contraria geritis; et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis; ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae compleatis; ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini praedicetis; cetera quae agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.*” —“For as much as in many things you act against our custom, nay against the custom of the universal Church, yet this notwithstanding, if you will yield to me on these three points—to keep Easter-day at the proper time; to follow the rite of baptism through which we are all re-born in God, according to the manner of the Roman and Apostolic Church; and to preach along with us God’s word to the Anglo-Saxons, we will quietly bear with everything else, however contrary to our manners.” (Beda. Hist. Eccle. l. ii. c. ii.) This divergency among these Celts in the administration of baptism from the Roman form, must have been marked. What was it? Immediately after baptism, and as an ending to that rite, the feet of the neophyte were washed by the Celtic celebrant while he said a certain form of prayer. At Milan, in the days of St. Ambrose, in some parts of Spain and of Gaul as also among the Celtic Christians, everywhere this ceremony of washing the feet of the recently baptized was followed. The council of Elvira (Illiberis), A.D. 301, in its 48th canon, enacted that the feet of the recently baptized should not be washed by the bishop, but by some cleric. “*Placuit . . . neque pedes eorum (qui baptizantur) lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus, sed clericis.*” In his work, *De Mysteriis*, c. 6, St. Ambrose expressly tells us, that, at Milan, this washing of feet at the end of baptism, was observed, and, in another book, which, if not from the pen of that illustrious saint is from that of a writer of his time, and who describes the use of the Church at Milan, it is thus spoken of:—“*Ascendisti de fonte; quid secutum est? Audisti lectionem: succintus est summus sacerdos: pedes tibi lavit.*”^s As applicable to our present inquiry, there is an important observation by the same writer, given in the words

^s Ambrosius de Sacramentis, l. iii. c. i.

following : “ Non ignoramus quod ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam. Hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet ut lavit. Vide ergo ne forte propter multitudinem declinarit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est non in baptisate, non in regeneratione, sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sunt.” By the form in use among the old Gauls, we find that the feet of the newly baptized were washed, as may be seen in the two missals edited by Mabillon, in his “*Liturgia Gallicana*,” where, at p. 249, we find this rubric and prayer :—“*Dum pedes ejus lavas, dicis :—Ego tibi lavo pedes. Sicut Dominus Noster Jesu Christus fecit discipulis suis, tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis, ut habeas vitam aeternam.*” And again, at p. 364 :—“*Ad pedes lavandos*,” after baptism, a prayer in almost the self-same words is given, to be said. Stronger still, for my opinion, is the testimony of that remarkable missal, if not the original, is an early copy of an Irish Missal used by St. Columbanus and his Irish monks while in Burgundy, and carried thence along with them to Bobbio. In this liturgical codex, after the suffusion of the chrism on the newly baptized individual, and clothing him in the white garment, we have this rubric :—“*Collectio ad pedes lavandos*,” followed by this prayer :—“*Ego tibi lavo pedes, sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus fecit discipulis suis, ita tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis. Dominus noster Jesus Christus de linteo quo erat prae-cinctus, tersit pedes discipulorum suorum ; et (quod ?) ego facio tibi, tu facies peregrinis, hospitibus, et pauperibus.*”

By these liturgical authorities, it is shown that in all those countries where any of the Celtic people ever held a sway, this ceremony of feet-washing at baptism, when they became Christians, always took place, up to a late period, whether in Celtiberia or Northern Spain, at Milan or through Lombardy (for at one time the river Rubicon was the boundary between Gaul and Italy), over the whole of Gaul, in England, and Ireland. The words of a North Italian writer, which we have just now given, tell clearly that in the fourth century, the Roman Church did not use the rite at baptism of washing feet. In Celtiberia itself, an early council had, as was just now shown, forbidden it to be done by bishops, then the ordinary administrators of this sacrament.

* Ed. Mabillon, apud Museum Italicum, t. i, p. 325.

Let us now look homeward, and try to find out what the Christian Celts—the Scoti, or Irish, and the Britons—have left to tell how they, in their day, did in this matter. An ancient writer, likely at the end of the seventh century, drew up a catalogue, first printed by Ussher,¹ of Irish Saints, whom he distributes into three classes, the first of which begins with St. Patrick and ends with the reign of a King Tuathal, about A.D. 542. Of this class we are told all were bishops, and some were Romans, some Franks, some Britons, some Irish; and they had one mass, one celebration—“*unam missam unam celebrationem*,” or, as we should now say, one Use. The second class comprehends those three hundred worthies who lived in Ireland between A.D. 542 and 598; and of them it is recorded that they celebrated diverse masses or uses; that from David the bishop, and from Gildas and Docus the Britons, they received a mass, or use—“*diversas missas celebrabant A Davide episcopo et Gilla et Doco Britonibus. Missam acceperunt.*”² Further on, Ussher says:—“*Secundi ordinis Sancti ritum celebrandi missam a sanctis viris de Britannia, sc. a sancto David et a sancto Gilda et sancto Doco, in catalogo nostro legimus.*”³

In this catalogue, and next to his dear friend Columba, we find Caineus, or St. Kenny, placed. In the life of this saint given to the world A.D. 1853, by the Marquis of Ormonde, we read:—“*Cum Sanctus Kannechus crevisset et perfectus esset sensibus voluit sapientiam legere et religionem discere. Perrexit trans mare in Britanniam ad virum sapientem et religiosissimum Doc legitque apud illum sedule et mores bonos didiscit Quadam autem die cum Sanctus Kannechus sedens scriberet, audivit sonum tintinnabuli,*” &c., cap. iv. p. 2. Another little incident in this saint's life tells how, in after years, his journeys hither were very frequent. His friend, St. Brandan, for the purpose of making for the altar a chalice, had brought together some artificers; but, before their work was quite done, they found they had not gold enough; knowing, however, that St. Kenny used to go often to Britain, St. Brandan called upon him to borrow more:—“*Sanctus Brandanus habens secum artifices facientes calicem altaris, aurum sufficientem non habuit ad illam fabricam. Tunc ministri dixerunt ei*

¹ Britt. Ecc. Antiquitates, p. 473. Londini, 1687.

² Ibid. p. 474. .

³ Ibid., 498.

vade ad Kannechum forsitan aurum cum eo invenies quia frequenter in Britanniam vadit," *ib. cap. xlix. p. 30.* Such evidences afforded, not by British, but by Irish witnesses, of the good neighbourhood, the kindly fellowship, the warm and frequent intercommunion kept up between the Churchmen in both the islands all through the sixth century and later, would lead us to think, had we not been positively told, that the Church in Ireland made its liturgy, its Use, in fact, to be the same in belief and ritual with that followed in this our island; if, then, we can only find out what was the form of baptism among the Irish in the sixth century, we may rest assured that in such a ritual we behold the practice of the British Church, too, at such a period.

Just as these pages were being drawn up for the press, I was favoured by the Earl of Ashburnham with a sight of his very precious, nay, unique, Irish Sacramentarium,—a missal, and an order of baptism,—once in the library at Stowe, and which his lordship courteously brought up to London on purpose for my inspection. Any one fond of archæology, and in a more especial manner of liturgical studies, will at once understand what must have been my feelings the while I handled and pored over so venerable a book of Christian Celtic rites, the vellum leaves of which were almost black in places, from having beheld about thirteen ages roll over them; as this Codex had been, to my thinking, written out at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. The shape of the letters, the whole manner of writing throughout this *Ordo Baptismi* seem to be of the period above given; spaces are all along left open for rubrics, but they are not everywhere put in; and when they do come, are not in red but black ink, and are written smaller than the text, which, like those rubrics themselves, is always in Latin. A dwarf quarto in size, its vellum leaves are of a strong but not thickest kind.

This Order of Baptism begins with the prayer following:—"Domine Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, expelle diabolum . . . ab homine isto de capite, de cappellis, de cervice, de cerebro, de fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus," &c. Then comes the exorcism of the salt:—"Creatura Salis . . . in nomine Trinitatis," &c.; after applying which the priest asks:—"Abrenuncias Satanae?" and im-

mediately follows the ceremonial opening of the ears, or as it is written here :—"Efeta, quod ÷ (est) aphertio, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti ;" and from this passage in the prayer, "quem liberasti de errore gentilium," it would seem that, at the period when this Order of Baptism was in use, many of the Irish people were still heathens and unbelievers. Following after this, we have the first anointing, which, not as now, was then, at least among the Irish and Britons, given with the two separate oils—chrism being one—as the rubric says thus : "Hūc usque catachominus inceptit oleari oleo de crismate in pectus et inter scabulas (scapulas) antequam baptizaretur : deinde letania circa fontem canitur ; deinde benedictio fontis ; deinde ii. Salmi, Sitivit anima mea, &c. Deinde benedictio completa mittit sacerdos cresmaria in modum crucis in fontem et quique voluerit in . . . vasculum aqua benedictionis ad domus consecrandas et populus aspergitur aqua benedicta." This blessing of the font is worded very much after the manner laid down by the Latin Church :—"Exorciso te creatura aquæ," &c., as may be seen in the old Salisbury Manual, as well as in the Ordo Ministrandi Sacramenta in actual use.

Just before the baptism itself, the catechism, or questions asked upon articles of faith, is set forth ; and from the rubric here, we find that the celebrant went down into the font along with the person or persons about to be baptized—"dis-cendit in fontem."

This being done, and baptism given, the rubric says :—"Oleatur cresmate in cerebrum in fronte, et dat vestem candidam diaconus super capite et fronte et dicitur presbitero, Domine Sancte Omnipotens, Domine noster Jesu Xpe qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu Santo. Quique tibi dedit remissionem omnium peccatorum, Ipse te lineat crismate salutis. Ungo te de oleo de chrismate salutis, &c., et dat vestem candidam diaconus super caput in frontem et vestitur manto candido, tegitur presbitero. Tunc lavit pedes accepto linteo. Dominus et Salvator noster Jesus Xps pridie quam pateretur accepto linteo splendido et sancto et immaculato precinctis lumbis suis fit (infundere?) aquam in pelvem, lavit pedes discipulorum suorum," &c.

Whenever an old Irish codex of holy writ on the liturgy had been written out by or had ever belonged to any of the saints in that land, it came, as years rolled on, to be looked

upon with religious veneration and deemed a holy relic ; as such, it was enshrined in a costly covering made of silver and garnished with precious stones. The *Liber Sacramentorum*, out of which is given the above Order of Baptism, came in time to be so esteemed, and its old and well-wrought shrine is still in existence in the rich library of Ashburnham Place. It is a stout oaken box, overlaid everywhere with silver plates curiously wrought, garnished with niello ornamentation and inscribed with several names, telling of the royal personages who by their munificence contributed to its adornment, or of those who lent their individual handicraft for that purpose. This curious box has been figured by the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, and a glance at his engravings will show that the older side differs from the other both in the script, the shape of the letters, as well as in the style of its art, as widely as a gap of three centuries can mark the difference. On the older of the two sides are inscribed the names of two reputed kings of Munster, of whom one, Donnchadh, was the son of Brian Boroimhe ; on the later side we read of one Gillaruadan O'Macan, the comharb,—that is, abbot,—for whom a prayer is asked because he covered this wooden box.

As we were told just now, St. Kannek, Canice, or Kenny, as he is severally called, was very fond, while here in England with St. Docus, of writing out books, and as the Irish were then in the habit of borrowing their ritual from the Britons, no doubt liturgical codices would have been the works this saint most of all transcribed to carry home with him to Ireland ; and going back thither, at last he settled down in Munster and built a monastery at Aghaboe.⁴ This saint's contemporary, and living not far off at Lorrha as its abbot, was St. Ruadan, whose name occurs upon this silver case. May not then this *Ordo Baptismi* be written out by the very hand of St. Kenny himself while under Doc and among the Britons, and have been given to his neighbour St. Ruadan ? or may it not be a copy written out by that abbot of Lorrha from a copy lent him from Aghaboe ? Be this as it may, the form of baptism just set forth comes from a codex written out while St. Gregory the Great, who died A.D. 604, was Pope, and St. Austin, the first Archbishop of Canter-

⁴ Ware, ed Harris p. 20.

bury, was striving to bring the Anglo-Saxons to a belief in Christianity.

Now let us lay, side by side, the two forms for this sacrament—the one in use among all the Christian Celts, the other which we see in the “Gregorii Papae Liber Sacramentorum,” p. 71, edited by Menard, and in use, not only at Rome, but throughout the remainder of Christendom. While, then, reading these two rituals, we shall behold that the only differences between both are, first, a slight variation in one ceremony—the pouring out instead of rubbing on the head the oil of chrism, and letting it flow down on the forehead; the second, another superadded right, the ceremonious washing of the neophyte’s feet at the end of baptism. Agreeing then in every particular besides, these could have been the two only things objected to by St. Austin while he beseeched the British bishops and clergy to do away with the difference between his and their mode in the administration of baptism. That St. Austin was quite warranted in making such a request to the Britons, is clear on several accounts.

To the eyes of not a few it might have easily looked as if this feet-washing had been meant by the Church to teach the faithful to believe that such a remarkable ceremony was an integral and so essential an element in the outward sign, that, without it, the inward grace—the cleansing of the soul from all sin was not efficaciously wrought by baptism. To try and get this stumbling-block to true belief out of the way, was only the bounden duty of any bishop; and so clear was such an obligation, that not long after, the Celtic nations everywhere let this ceremony at the end of baptism drop quite out of their several rituals.

For a like cause, the pouring out through that small hole in one of the spoons of the chrism, on the head, must, it is likely, have been given up, especially since in the Irish *Ordo Baptismi*, belonging to the Earl of Ashburnham, as well as in the *Sacramentarium* which, as we said just now, we take to be a copy of the old Irish Missal, the rubric says, “*Suffundis chrisma in fronte ejus*,” &c.,⁵ and thus not unlikely to mislead some people into the idea that it might include the administration of quite another sacrament—that of Confirmation—at which the bishop makes, and with the same oil, upon the forehead of the individual confirmed, a sign of the cross.

⁵ Ed. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, t. i. p. 325.

What, then, was the difference in the administration of baptism, between the old Britons and the Roman missionaries? Like other Celtic tribes, the Britons always washed the feet of the newly baptized, making that ceremony a part of that sacrament of regeneration; and, secondly, poured out the chrism upon the forehead, as well as the head, instead of touching with it the head only of the neophyte: the Romans never washed the feet, nor poured out the chrism, but merely rubbed with it, under the sign of the cross, the head.

The washing of feet, yet kept up as one among the ceremonies peculiar to Holy Week, and in many lands done to the poor, no less by kings and queens and the nobility than by all ranks of the ecclesiastics, had, from what we read, (John xiii.) been taught as a token of brotherly love and lowliness to his disciples for them to do, by our Lord himself, who, however, did not link such an observance, even in the very remotest degree, with the administration of baptism.

That celebrated Gaulish prelate, St. Caesarius, archbishop of Arles, who died A.D. 542, is the last who speaks of this feet-washing as a baptismal rite, in his sermons thus:—"Hoc itaque admones, Fratres dilectissimi, ut quotiens Paschalis sollemnitatis venit quicumque viri, quaecumque mulieres de sacro fonte filios spiritaliter exceperunt, cognoscant se pro ipsis fidejussores apud Deum extitisse, et ideo semper illis sollicitudinem verae caritatis impendant. Admoneant ut auguria non observent, phylacteria vel characteres diabolicos nec sibi nec suis aliquando suspendant, praecantatores vel ministros diaboli fugiant, fidem catholicam teneant, ad ecclesiam frequentius currant . . . peregrinos excipiant et, secundum quod ipsis in baptismo dictum est, hospitem pedes lavant," &c.⁶

This ancient baptismal ceremony in use among the olden Christian Celts would seem to have left a deep impression upon the Celtic mind long after that part of the rite had been abrogated. Of this fact we have a highly curious illustration in the life of our countryman, St. Cuthberht, when but a young monk he had been appointed in his monastery to the office of receiving guests. In that capacity, while one morn-

⁶ *Appendicis Sermo clixviii., opp. S. 293, n. 3. See also Sermo cclvii. p. Augustini opera et studio Monach. 421, n. 2, ib. O. S. B., S. Mauri, Parisiis 1683; t. v. p.*

ing affording the hospitality of the house to a wayfarer, this saint not only washed the young man's feet, but, to warm them, with his hands put them in his bosom, in true Celtic manner, like some foot-holder to a Cambrian king who always kept at court such an official (Welsh Laws, t. i. pp. 63, 351):—"Exiens enim primo mane . . . ad hospitum cellulam invenit inibi quendam sedentem juvenem quem solito mox humanitatis more suscepit. Nam lavandis manibus aquam dedit, pedes ipse abluit, linteo extersit, fovendos humiliter manibus suo in sinu composuit," &c.⁷ An earlier example still is furnished by the Irish St. Columba, of whom Adamnan, in his life of that abbot, tells us:—"Sedens in domo sanctus et fratribus praecipiens dixit, praeparate ocus hospitium aquamque ad lavandos hospitum pedes exhaurite."⁸

Before ending such a subject as the present, we must not forget to tell the reader that still to be found among our English regalia is a splendid coronation spoon. This ritual appliance is not only one of the oldest pieces of plate known to be now in being anywhere, and wrought in the twelfth century by English hands too, but as beautiful and symbolic as craftsmanship could make it. Its rather narrow bowl is, by a ridge running all along the middle, divided into two channels, as if fashioned on purpose to hold two distinct liquids or oils quite apart. Over this inside portion of the bowl is gracefully trailed leaf-bearing boughs of trees, done by a graving tool. Its long and tapering handle is most artistically wrought and full of symbolism. Four small pearls stud it where it springs from the bowl, telling of the man in the Gospel who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went his way and sold all that he had and bought it. Above and below is a small patch of green enamel—Hope's colour of regenerated man—speaking of his longings for Heaven, which is put before our eyes by that long streak of celestial blue enamel, reaching the jewel at the upper end. This highly curious spoon is well figured by Shaw in his "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages." Franchi, of Clerkenwell, has cleverly electrotyped it.

By the Roman Pontifical only one oil, the *Oleum Catechumenorum*, is directed to be used in the coronation service: according to the old English ritual, two oils, the

⁷ Vita auctore Ven. Bedae, op. Hist. t. ii. p. 62, ed. Stevenson.

⁸ Vita S. Columbae auct. Adamnano, ed. Reeves, c. 4, p. 27.

Oleum Catechumenorum and the Chrisma are required, as we find in the Exeter Pontifical, p. 143, ed. Barnes; and more at length in the "Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII." among the Rutland Papers, edited by Jerdan for the Camden Society, pp. 16, 17.

To our thinking this same spoon in olden times, and while the ancient use of Salisbury was followed, was employed at royal baptisms, as well as at the coronations of our kings and queens.

It is, then, a matter of no small interest to find that a liturgical appliance in the shape of a spoon should be now, as it was so many ages gone by, employed in this land for holding the oils blessed then, as now, after a solemn manner by the Church for her various and sacred administrations. More interesting still is it to find that from a few seemingly worthless old Celtic spoons may be drawn a ray of light to shine upon a hitherto dark spot in our national annals, the elucidation of which is and ever must be one of the purposes of our Institute. Archæology and history are twin sisters, and they cannot live nor thrive apart from one another.

NOTICES OF CERTAIN BRONZE RELICS, OF A PECULIAR TYPE,
ASSIGNED TO THE LATE CELTIC PERIOD.

THE later part of the period during which the use of bronze, of fine quality and wrought with much artistic skill, appears to have prevailed in the British islands, brings under our notice objects of highly curious fashion, admirably designed, suggestive also of an age comparatively advanced in the arts and also in the cultivated taste of social refinement. It is remarkable that, in some instances, it is scarcely practicable to assign any probable intention or purpose to certain elaborate relics of this age and character. They not unfrequently present to the archæologist exceptional types, that supply scarcely any indication to suggest the uses for which they may have been destined. We are often disposed to ascribe conjecturally to some anomalous object, possessing much perfection and beauty in workmanship, a purpose associated with sacred rites or religious observances; it is, however, scarcely needful to insist on the necessity of great caution in the endeavor to associate with any hallowed use such mysterious relics of remote antiquity, to which no obvious or secular purpose can be safely ascribed. We no longer hear of mistletoe-sickles, sacrificial pateræ, tiaras, with other so-called "Druidical" appliances and insignia, often paraded in the theories of early antiquarians in the British islands. With all deference to the judgment of others, whose opinions I hold in high estimation, I must frankly confess a certain reluctance to accept, in some such cases, whether as regards Pagan or Christian subjects of investigation, the *ignotum pro sacro*, in our endeavors to solve questions that still present difficulties to the archæologist.

Amongst the perplexing anomalies of bronze, occurring chiefly in North Britain and in Ireland, there are perhaps none that present so interesting and mysterious a subject of speculation as the little group of spoon-like objects to which I am desirous to invite attention. They have already been described and figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, by

the Rev. E. L. Barnwell;¹ the recent acquisition, however, of several remarkable examples has encouraged me, with his friendly concurrence, to bring before the Institute the evidence that may aid us in seeking a solution of so singular an enigma, and to record, as far as possible, the facts connected with the discovery of the relics in question.

These spoon-like objects have occurred, so far as I am aware, exclusively in England, in Wales, and in Ireland. A pair has recently been brought to light in Westmoreland, but no specimen has hitherto, as I believe, been found in Scotland, where very many remarkable antiquities of bronze, that may be assigned to the same period as the spoons, have been discovered. I have been unable to ascertain that any object of similar form and decoration has occurred on the Continent; nor have I even found any relic either of classical antiquity or of more remote date, that may be classed with these peculiar spoons, or be regarded as intended for the like purpose, whatever that may have been. It is probable that, according to their normal fashion, they were made in pairs; one of each pair appears to have had, near the right side and at about mid length, a circular perforation, about a sixth of an inch in diameter; this was punched through the metal, mostly of inconsiderable thickness, especially towards the edge. The counterpart, never perforated in like manner, has in every instance transverse lines, somewhat suggestive of resemblance to a Christian symbol, coarsely scored across the shallow bowl, in which also, in one specimen, there are two perforations differently placed and of much smaller size than those occurring, as before described, closely adjoining the right-hand margin. One of the little holes in that instance is plugged with gold; it may be supposed that the second was originally closed in like manner. In some of these spoons the cavity is so shallow that it would be almost impracticable to convey any liquid to the mouth; whilst, moreover, the invariably sharp-pointed fashion of the supposed spoon renders it little adapted for the ordinary uses of such appliances. These mysterious spoons, if indeed

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, third series, vol. viii. p. 208. This memoir was published in 1862. See also some supplemental notices by Mr. Barnwell, *ibid.*, vol. x. p. 57. Mr. Franks has briefly adverted to the spoons in his inventory of

"Late Celtic" relics, *Hors Ferales*, p. 184. He describes them as "oval plates, slightly concave, and not unlike a modern sugar-spoon; the upper part is decorated with the usual scroll pattern."

destined for any of the purposes for which a spoon is now or may obviously be employed, were probably cast, possibly in a bronze mould, and are to be assigned to a period, of which numerous early examples exist, characterised by the highest technical perfection in the founder's art. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcuts that the general form and workmanship are almost the same in all examples on record; the details are considerably varied. They are, however, characterised by a certain peculiar type of ornamentation, to which one of our most sagacious archæologists, Mr. Franks, has ascribed the designation "Late Celtic," distinctive of a period of singular interest in the series of our National Antiquities, and to which I propose to advert more fully hereafter.

Of the remarkable objects that are the special subject of the present notices, the first example was made known to me some years since by Mr. Roach Smith, in his highly instructive collection of antiquities found in the Metropolis, and happily secured for our National Depository in 1856. A second specimen, likewise obtained in the city of London, came subsequently into my own possession; the interest thus excited in regard to these curious "spoons" was renewed by examination of certain Irish examples that were sent to the Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Royal Dublin Society in 1853.

I proceed to notice the series of specimens that have become known to me during the investigation of this remarkable little group of our early antiquities.

1. A well-preserved specimen of highly finished workmanship, formerly, as already noticed, in the Museum of London Antiquities collected by Mr. C. Roach Smith, and now preserved in the British Museum. I have been informed by him that it was found in the Thames, the depository that has yielded such remarkable relics of "Late Celtic" character. It is figured in the privately printed Catalogue of the collection, p. 82, and described as follows, amongst Roman and Romano-British Antiquities:—"Ornamented Plate, in Bronze, the use or application of which is by no means obvious. It measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches."² It

² Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities, &c., p. 82. In the woodcut there given the perforation at the right-

hand edge of the spoon has accidentally been omitted.

BRONZE RELICS OF THE LATE CELTIC PERIOD.



1.—Found in the Thames. British Museum (Roach Smith Collection).
Scale, Two-thirds original size.



Reverse of the handle.

2.—Found in Brickhill Lane, London. In possession of Mr. Albert Way.
Scale, two-thirds original size.

may deserve notice, that on examination the lower portion of the deep concave handle appears somewhat worn by friction, as if the thumb had pressed more strongly on that part in holding the spoon. The raised ornaments on the sides of the handle seem to have been partly hammered up, but the object, as also those hereafter to be described, has, as I imagine, been cast in a mould. The material is a fine yellow bronze, resembling that of many ancient relics that have been obtained from the Thames.³

Having recently submitted this object to the examination of a person on whose skill and intimate acquaintance with technical processes in metal-working I have great reliance, he assured me that it is very certain that it was cast; the faulty portions were punched up, as the work of the hammer is distinctly seen on the reverse where the metal had not penetrated into the cavities of the mould. He was unable to decide how the surface was produced on the obverse, probably, however, from a highly finished bronze mould; and then, if the casting was not perfect, it may have been beat into the hollows of the mould, in those parts where a sharper or greater relief was desired.

2. This specimen was found, as stated, in London, in Brickhill Lane, Upper Thames Street, about April, 1822; it is now in my possession, having been purchased from Mr. Purdue amongst various London relics. It is of pale-colored bronze; the surface dull, and coated with a kind of granulated encrustation, wholly unlike the fine lustrous patina that is seen on antique bronzes. The handle appears to have become disunited from the shallow bowl, and the injury has been carefully repaired by a plate somewhat ornamentally formed, affixed by numerous small rivets, ten in number, at the back (see woodcuts). The dimensions are as follows:—length nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of the handle, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch; of the bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The reverse of the circular handle is ornamented with peculiarly combined curves that appear to accord with types of decoration, characterising, as it is believed, certain bronze relics which belong to the latest times of the Celtic period in Britain. This specimen, it will be observed, has, at the edge of the right side, the small perforation that occurs in several instances, and here pierced so

³ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. viii. p. 210.

near to the edge that a small portion of the metal possibly has broken away ; this may, however, have been lost through accidental carelessness of the workman in drilling or punching this hole a little too close to the margin.⁴

3, 4. A pair found in 1861, at a spot somewhat south of Ffynogion, in the parish of Llanfair, Denbighshire, among sand thrown up by the excavators in the construction of the railway between Denbigh and Corwen. They were noticed by Mr. Hugh Jones of Cae-Groes, Ruthin, as he walked along the cutting ; when found, these two relics were firmly attached face to face by the incrustation of *æruugo* on the metal, so that it proved difficult to separate them without injury. Unfortunately, the precise depth or the spot where they had lain could not be ascertained ; the workmen, in throwing up the sand out of the cutting, had not noticed them ; they may have remained for some time until accidentally noticed by Mr. Jones ; the superincumbent soil appears to have been washed away by heavy rain which fell about that time, and exposed them, so that they attracted his attention, slightly projecting above the rubbish. At the margin of one of them there is a small fracture that had at first been supposed to be an accidental injury ; on more careful examination, however, it appears that this, as in other examples, is the small perforation before noticed, made in or very near the edge. The two objects above described appear to form a pair, of which, however, one only is thus perforated ; it is believed, as stated by Mr. Barnwell,⁵ that they are castings from the same mould ; the metal is described as a bronze containing an unusual proportion of copper, as indicated by the colour. They are encrusted with a green oxide, which is merely superficial, and may scarcely be called a patina, such as occurs upon coins. Upon one of them, here figured,⁶ lines are engraved transversely, forming a plain cross somewhat rudely cut, and not formed in the mould. These have been regarded by some antiquaries as indicating a connexion with some sacred usage in Christian rites ; but, as Mr. Barnwell has truly remarked, "if intended for the purpose of consecration one might have expected a little more care bestowed upon the execution" of

⁴ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. viii. p. 211.

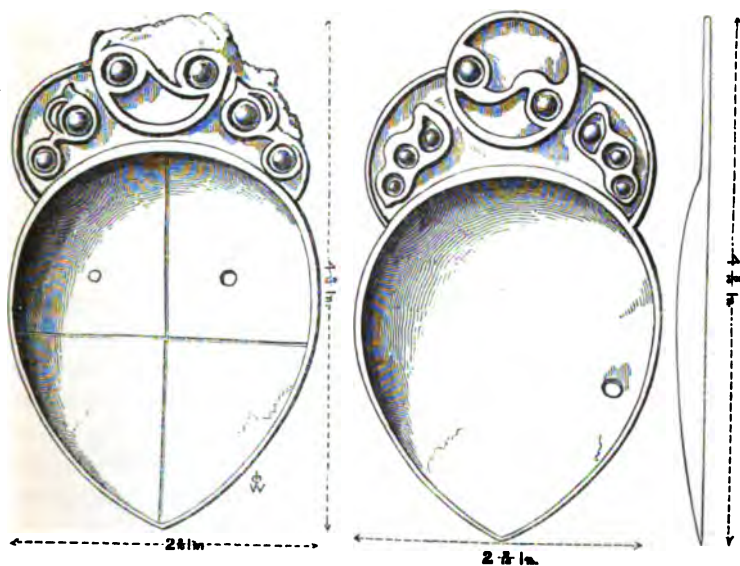
⁵ Ibid., vol. x. p. 58.

⁶ This specimen is slightly fractured : in the woodcut the injury is not shown.

BRONZE RELICS OF THE LATE CELTIC PERIOD.



3, 4.—One of a pair found at Llanfair, Denbighshire. Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Scale, two-thirds original size.



5, 6.—Pair found at Penbryn, Cardiganshire. Ashmolean Museum. Scale, two-thirds original size.

these cross-lines. The dimensions are as follows :—length, 3 inches ; diameter of the handle $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch ; of the bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.⁷ These valuable relics, which are especially interesting as forming, doubtless, a pair, and having been found together, were presented by Mr. Jones, the finder, to Mr. Barnwell, at that time resident at Ruthin, and by Mr. Barnwell, in 1863, to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland ; they are now to be seen at Edinburgh. I cannot refrain from the expression of regret that it should not have been agreeable to him to give the preference to the National Depository in London, where only one example of these remarkable objects is at present preserved. It must, however, be admitted, that they presented a certain special interest as compared with several remarkable relics found in North Britain, that supply well-characterised examples of the late Celtic period to which it is believed that the so-called spoons belong.⁸

The relics found in Denbighshire have recently received, at my request, special examination by my friend Mr. Stuart, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, as I imagine to be the case, these spoons were produced from moulds, and were only slightly finished up by the tool. I had, moreover, been very desirous to invite the attention of so eminent an authority as the author of the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland” to these perplexing objects of bronze, that present in their decoration a certain analogy to some of the details occurring on the remarkable monuments that he has so admirably illustrated. Mr. Stuart, whilst admitting with regret his inability to aid my inquiry in regard to the intention or the date of these singular “spoons,” if indeed, as he sagaciously observes, they really may have been objects of that description, stated his opinion that the Llanvair specimens had been cast. The ornament on the handle alone, that appears to have been stamped or hammered up from the back, which is hollow, may not have been reproduced from the mould. There is no engraved line in any part, with the exception of the cross lines in

⁷ I am indebted for these particulars to the interesting memoir by Mr. Barnwell, *Arch. Cambr.*, ut *supra*, p. 208.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 110. The bronze horse-furniture found in Annan-

dale, a scabbard found near the Pentland Hills, and an armlet found at Plunton Castle, co. Kirkcudbright, figured *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xvi. p. 194, are there cited as specimens of Late Celtic work in the Edinburgh Museum.

the bowl of one of the spoons; and he concluded that there is no tooling, unless the radiating lines of the central ornament on the handle may have been slightly sharpened by the chisel or burin.

5, 6. A pair found about 1829 in the parish of Penbryn, Cardiganshire, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. I am indebted to the Rev. E. L. Barnwell for the following particulars regarding the discovery.⁹ Near the road from Cardigan to Aberystwyth, there is an earthwork of considerable size, with double ramparts; it is called Castell Nadolig, or Yndalig, or Castle Christmas. Between this entrenchment and the sea there is a small square camp, near the edge of the cliff; formerly a paved way formed of large stones was to be seen for a mile northwards from Castell Nadolig, and this road is known as "the Sarn," a term generally supposed to indicate a Roman way, although in some parts of North Wales it seems to designate any ancient track. The earthworks of Castell Nadolig present peculiarities, as Mr. Barnwell observes, not usual in Roman camps; from its position, commanding the line of communication from north to south, and, taken in connection with the rectangular work on the coast, Mr. Babington, after careful examination, concluded that, if not originally formed by the Romans, there can be little doubt that the Castell had been occupied by them. The smaller work commands the part of the coast called Llongborth, whither, according to tradition, the Roman galleys were wont to resort. About 1829 the tenant removed a heap of stones in a part of the Castell supposed to occupy the site of the *prætorium*; under these were found the two relics here figured, which were presented in 1836 to the Ashmolean Museum by the Rev. Henry Jenkins, B.D., of Magdalen College, now Rector of Stanway, Essex.¹ There are many vestiges of antiquity in the neighbourhood, such as the Gaer, somewhat to the south; an erect inscribed stone, near Penbryn, between the Castell and the sea; on this slab, noticed by Camden, may be read,—CORBALENCI IACIT ORDOVS.²; a

⁹ Arch. Camb., ut supra, p. 214.

¹ They are described in the Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. P. H. Duncan, p. 147, as follows:—"Two heart-shaped and slightly hollowed pieces of brass, 5 in. by 3 in., found in a British encampment at Penbryn, in Cardigan-

shire.—Rev. H. Jenkins, Magd. Coll. 1836."

² Figured, *Archæologia Cambr.*, vol. vii., third series, p. 306; it is noticed also by Edward Llwyd, and by Meyrick, *Hist. of Cardiganshire*.

tumulus ; urns deposited under a large slab, and other remains have also been described, which supply evidence of early occupation in these parts of the coasts of Wales. An *aureus* of Titus, it may also be mentioned, was found not far from Castell Nadolig. I have carefully stated these particulars, for which I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Barnwell's memoir, previously cited ; they may possibly suggest to archæologists more conversant than myself with the relics of the earlier periods, some hypothesis in regard to the use or date of the mysterious objects of bronze under consideration. It is not known whether any other relic was found at Castell Nadolig ; the pair of leaf-shaped "spoons" remained apparently unnoticed in the Ashmolean Museum until their existence became known accidentally to Mr. Franks in 1862. It will be seen that the ornamental designs on the handles are slightly varied, and although they bear a general resemblance in style to those on other specimens here figured, the ornament is characterized by a certain peculiarity, in which Mr. Barnwell was inclined to recognize some similarity to the "spectacle ornament" occurring on sculptured stones in North Britain.³ The upper part of one of the handles is slightly damaged. The dimensions are as follows :—Length, nearly 5 inches ; breadth, 3 inches. These relics are described by Mr. Barnwell as of orange-yellow colored metal coated with green patina ; one has a perforation, as in other specimens, near the right margin ; the other, with cross-lines engraved on its concave side, appears to have had two small perforations, more distant from the margin than in any other instance, one of these is now plugged up with metal, that appeared, as I was informed by Mr. Franks, to be gold. Through the kindness of Professor Phillips, whose friendly readiness to aid our researches the Institute has so frequently experienced, it has been ascertained that this little plug, which had been noticed by Mr. Barnwell as of brass, is actually of the more precious metal. Mr. Barnwell has called my attention to the remarkable flatness of these two specimens, which in that respect differ much from that in the British Museum and the pair that he presented to the Antiquaries of Scotland ; he points out that

³ The Sculptured Stones of Scotland, by John Stuart, vol. ii., preface, p. 26, and appendix to the preface, p. 8. See

also a notice, by Professor Westwood, of the first volume, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xiv. pp. 185, 191.

from their great shallowness they appear wholly unadapted to hold any liquid. This feature is, however, more strikingly obvious in other examples, described hereafter, especially in those found in Westmoreland.



7. One of a pair found at Weston, near Bath. Scale two-thirds original size. In possession of Mr. James T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot.

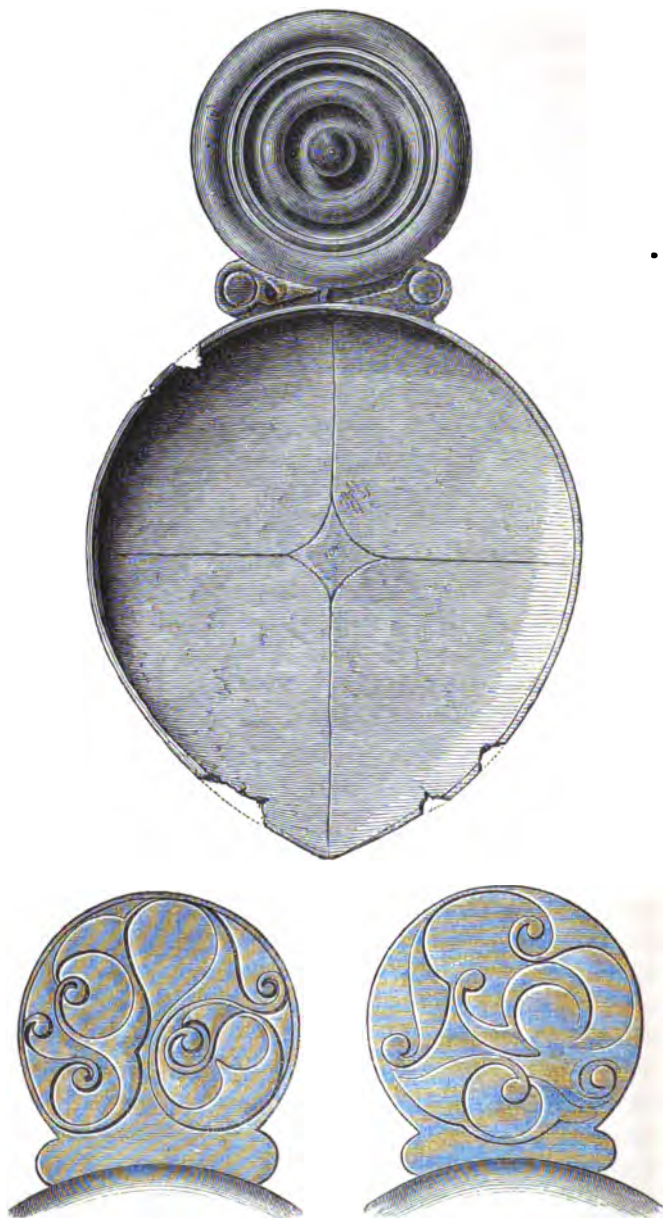
7, 8. A pair found in 1866 in Somersetshire, about a mile to the north-west of Bath, and near the road towards Bristol. Unfortunately the precise circumstances connected with their discovery have not been recorded; for the following particulars, and also for the kind permission to publish these highly interesting relics with the series of examples that I have now brought together, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. James T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot., of Coomb Down, near Bath.

"A new road having been made from Weston Lane to the village of Weston near Bath, a lias quarry was opened for the purpose of obtaining stone. The spot is on the

south side of the new road, and on the western brow of a small hollow, down which a little rivulet flows towards the Avon, into which it falls nearly opposite Tiverton. The new road shortly after joins the *Via Julia*, the great Roman line from *Aquæ Solis* into Wales. In removing the 'heading' for quarrying the lias rock, at a depth of 7 ft. or thereabouts, as stated, the bronze relics were brought to light by one of the laborers, who gave them to the foreman, William Smith, from whom I received them.⁴ I made careful enquiry whether any other object was found, or any trace of

⁴ In a subsequent communication Mr. Irvine informed me that, in regard to the great depth (7 ft.) at which these bronze objects were stated to have been found, he had made fresh inquiries of the foreman before mentioned, who stated that they lay near the stream, in the ancient

hollow course of which the earth had doubtless gradually slipped down the sloping cultivated bank, at the upper part of which there was only a layer of 12 or 18 inches in depth covering the lias rock.



8.—One of a pair found at Weston, near Bath; and ornamentation on the reverses of the handles. Original size.

In possession of Mr. James T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot.

wood, as of a box or the like, but I was assured that nothing else was discovered. The situation is so similar to the sites where remains of Roman villas occur, on gently sloping banks open towards the south and south-east, and adjoining some stream of pure water, that I am disposed to imagine that the vestiges of a Roman dwelling must exist not far from the spot."

In the great difficulty that has been found in regard to the intention of these objects, Mr. Irvine suggests that they may have served for some culinary or gastronomic purpose in Roman times. The frequent occurrence of villas, and of vestiges of every description that abound near *Aquæ Solis*, and have been carefully described by our friend Canon Scarth, could not fail to suggest to so observant and sagacious an archæologist as Mr. Irvine the probability that these objects, found not far distant from a great Roman way, might be assigned to the Roman period. It must, however, be considered that in no instance, as I believe, has any specimen been discovered in immediate proximity to relics of that age, or even to any site of Roman occupation.

The specimens from Somerset, unfortunately damaged at the edges, are of special interest for the perfection in their workmanship. The bronze also has assumed the highly-polished, dark-colored patina, resembling that of objects of classical antiquity, and rarely if ever equalled on the other relics under consideration. The dimensions are as follows :—length, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. ; diameter of the handle, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; of the bowl, rather over $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The ornament presents slight variations, which seem to prove that the two objects, if, as I believe, they were castings, were not produced from the same mould, although they closely resemble each other. The curiously-involute designs on the reverses of the handles are not identical, although at the first glance it might be supposed that they are repetitions. In execution they are peculiar; there is only a very slight degree of rilievo in the ornament, in some parts only the field is slightly depressed, in others the effect is assisted by a certain slight rounding off of the edges of the design, a process frequently made available by artificers of a much later period and wholly distinct school of metallurgical manipulation, namely in the mediæval enamels, on the surfaces to which vitrified color was not applied; this has been termed

by some French writers on the art as practised at Limoges and elsewhere about the twelfth century, *sous-relief*.

It may deserve notice that the circular concentric mouldings on the obverse of the handle, as also the handles of four other specimens previously described (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4), bear much resemblance to work on certain Roman or Gallo-Roman objects, for instance on bronze saucepans (*trullæ* ?), of which examples found at Arnagill, near Swinton Park, Yorkshire, were published by Mr. Charles Tucker in this Journal ;⁵ one, found in the Isle of Ely, was exhibited by Mr. Goddard Johnson at the meeting of the Institute at Norwich in 1847 ; and five, brought to light on the Castle Howard estate in Yorkshire, have presented to Mr. Oldfield the subject of a very valuable memoir published in the *Archæologia*.⁶

In these Roman vessels, and also in other objects of the same period, the circular mouldings seem undoubtedly to have been produced on the lathe. On the Celtic objects under consideration, they do not appear to have been thus worked ; these concentric ornaments were doubtless produced in the mould, with the admirable precision that characterises the works of the skilful artificers of the period. It has, however, been suggested that the model, of wood possibly, from which that part of the concave mould was formed, must apparently have been turned on the lathe. The use of that mechanical appliance amongst the Celtic peoples presents a subject of considerable interest.⁷

9, 10. A pair found in 1868 on the pasture lands of Graben, a farm belonging to Mr. Kent, in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland, and brought under my notice through the friendly mediation of Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, F.S.A. I am also indebted to the Vicar of that place, the Rev. G. F. Weston, for the following particulars regarding the discovery.

"The bronze objects were found by a farmer in this parish near a spring of water, while he was digging out the

⁵ Arch. Journal, vol. vi., p. 47.

⁶ *Archæologia*, vol. xli., pl. xv., p. 325, where notices of other specimens may be found. Mr. Esroyd Smith has described examples found near Abergele, N. Wales. *Trans. Lanc. and Chest. Hist. Soc.*, 1868.

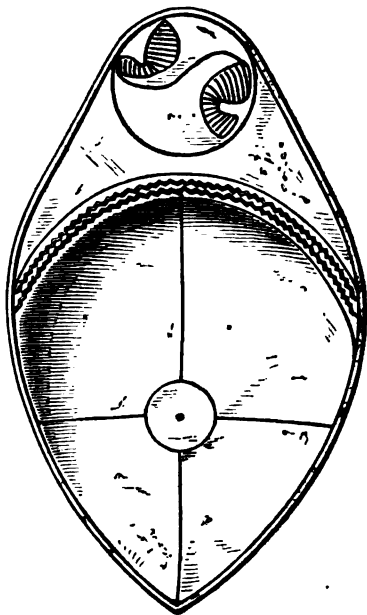
⁷ The cup of amber found at Hove, near Brighton, figured *Arch. Journal*, vol. xiii., p. 183 ; the vessel of bituminous

shale discovered by the Rev. R. Kirwan in a barrow, near Honiton, as described, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, vol. ii., p. 625 ; the Kimmeridge coal-money, and several other relics of the like material, present remarkable evidence of the early use of the lathe in Britain.

soil in order to form a drinking-place for his cattle during the drouthy weather in the summer. There was a small mound near the spring about 2 ft. high and 8 or 9 ft. across, into which we dug in Mr. Soden Smith's presence. In it were found pieces of freestone which had evidently been subjected to the action of fire, and some traces of wood ashes or burnt earth, but nothing else rewarded our labors. Our supposition was that this spring was a place of frequent resort, for some cause that I am unable to ascertain, possibly on some ancient line of road, for purposes of refreshment perhaps to the weary traveller, and that cooking in some rude fashion had there often taken place."

These specimens are comparatively roughly wrought and inelegant in form, especially in the contour of the handle and the unskilful finish of the engraved ornaments. One of them (fig. 9) has the usual perforation, in this instance somewhat more than an eighth of an inch from the right-hand margin, and punched through the metal plate, as shown by a slight bur or ragged edge on its reverse. On the counterpart (fig. 10) is coarsely scored a circle with lines crossing the bowl, as in one of the Irish examples hereafter noticed. (See fig. 15.)

The flat handle is in each instance ornamented with engraved work forming curvilinear designs, of the so-called trumpet pattern, that are similar in their general character, but not identical. Across the upper margin of the bowl, in each, there is chased somewhat boldly a double line of zigzag tooling, that has the appearance of a corded pattern. There is a strongly engraved line close to the margin, on both obverse and reverse, and also on the edge, or thickness of the handle, extending as far as the shoulder or commencement of the bowl. It is singular that this incision

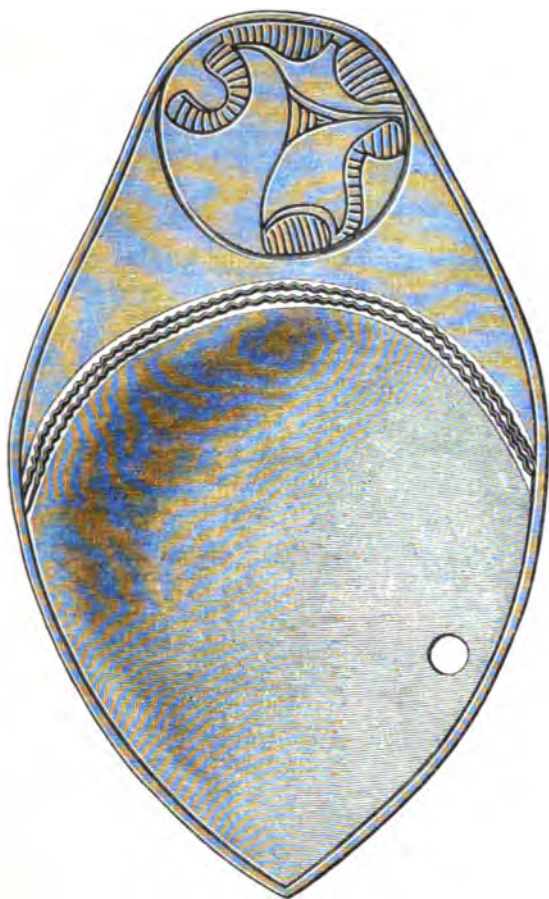


10. One of a pair found at Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland. Scale, two-thirds orig. size.

on the edge, which I have noticed in other instances, is here so strongly cut as to form, on the extreme upper part of the handle, a nick or groove of some depth, the intention of which is by no means obvious. Mr. Franks reminds me that these and some other details that I have noticed, even at the risk of appearing minutely tedious, are indications consistent with the elaborate finish by which all the works of the "Late Celtic" period are characterised. The metal is pale-colored, without any patina, the surface singularly granulated, possibly the result of fine sand-casting, and presenting in parts slight irregular scratches that may have been produced by some operation of roughly polishing or dressing the face of the metal, but can scarcely have been left by the file. The dimensions are as follows :—length, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. ; diameter of the bowl, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

These objects were not found together ; they lay some seven or eight yards apart in the boggy ground that surrounds the spring, and at an inconsiderable depth, about twelve to eighteen inches. Mr. Soden Smith assures me that he particularly inquired whether the metal had undergone any scouring ; he believes that it had not been cleaned, and observes that the pale yellow color is very characteristic of the unpatinated bronzes of the period to which he considers these spoons to belong. It may deserve notice that the marginal lines, both on the obverse and reverse, and also some other portions possibly of the engraved work, are worked with a fine zigzag tooling, not by a steady, continuous stroke of the burin, a technical peculiarity that occurs, as described hereafter, in the Irish examples. The spring, although well known for its copious supply, that did not fail even during the drought of last summer, does not appear to be known by any particular designation that might aid the endeavor to trace ancient occupation near the spot. I am not aware that vestiges of antiquity have occurred at Crosby Ravensworth. About three miles to the west is situated the remarkable district of Shap, full of early remains, megalithic monuments, numerous barrows also and other relics, to which the attention of the Institute was invited by the Rev. James Simpson, on occasion of the annual meeting at Carlisle.

11. A specimen formerly in possession of Mr. C. Roach Smith, to whom it had been presented by Mrs. Blackett. I



9.—One of a pair found at Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland, in 1868. Original size.

have been informed by him that it was found in a turbary, as he believes, in Ireland. It was exhibited in the temporary museum formed during the annual meeting of the Archæological Institute at Rochester in July, 1863. It measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. by nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The metal is somewhat less substantial than in other specimens previously described. This example, which I am permitted by Mr. Roach Smith's friendly courtesy to add to the series now brought together, bears a certain resemblance to those obtained in Ireland, in its somewhat slight and elongated proportions, in the general fashion of the ornaments engraved upon the handle, and in the absence of any relieve in that decoration. In these features it may also be compared with the spoons, before described, found in Westmoreland. (See woodcuts, Nos. 9 and 10.) It will be observed likewise that this relic resembles those in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy (Nos. 12—15), and also the pair from Westmoreland, in the



11. Found in a turbary in Ireland. Mayer Collection, Liverpool. Scale, two-thirds of the original size.

fashion of the cross that is engraved upon the concave surface of one of the spoons in each instance respectively; in each the lines forming the cross radiate from a small central circle. It is to be regretted that the place and circumstances of the discovery should not have been recorded. This interesting object has been presented by Mr. Roach Smith to Mr. Mayer, and I would express the hope that it may be ultimately deposited in the precious collections so generously given to the Free Public Museum at Liverpool. The highly instructive series of antiquities there preserved, through the good taste and munificence of Mr. Mayer, is already enriched by one of the most remarkable and unpublished examples of the "Late Celtic" period, the bronze vessel found in Merionethshire, in a turbary near

Trawsfynydd, and formerly in possession of Mr. Lloyd, of Penyglanau.⁵

Two pairs are to be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; the precise circumstances connected with their discovery and the place where they were found have not been stated. I am indebted to the curator of the collection, Mr. Clibborn, and also to the late Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, for rubbings and drawings of these remarkable specimens; a full account may be anticipated in the concluding portion of the valuable descriptive catalogue by Sir W. R. Wilde. The completion of that work will present a most important auxiliary in our studies of Irish archæology.⁶ The specimens occurring in Ireland are comparatively flat, shallow in their bowl, of more elongated proportions, their ornament, whilst presenting features of the "Late Celtic" character, is wrought with engraved lines and stippled or punched ground-work, without any portions in relief, as in examples already described that have been found in England and Wales.

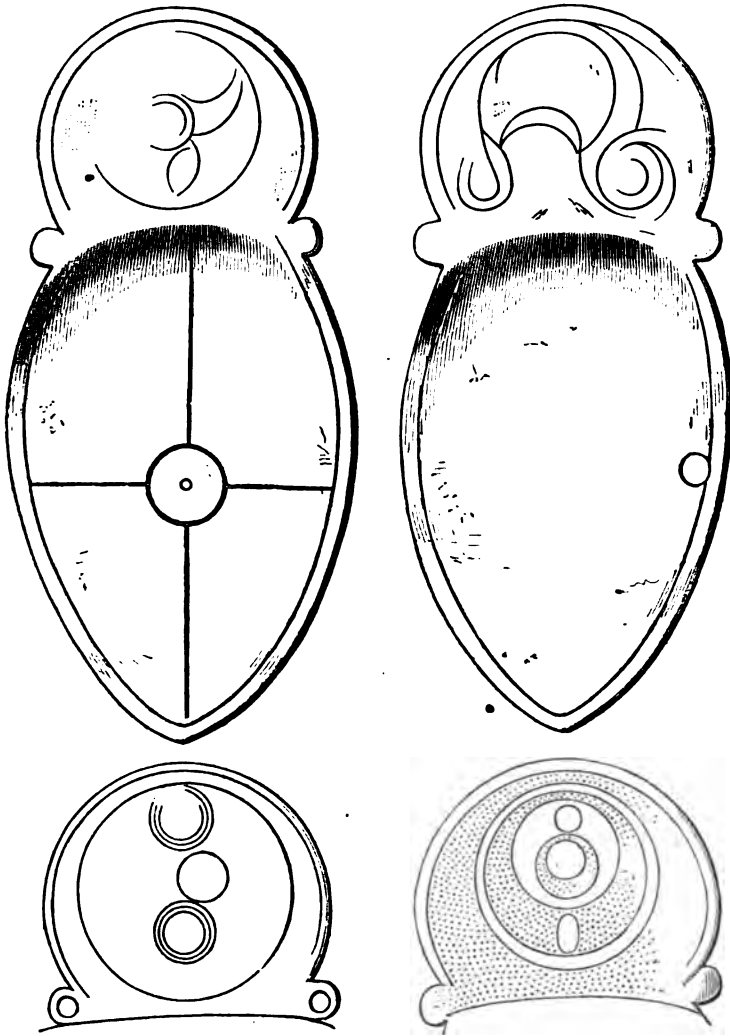
12, 13. On these Irish examples first to be noticed the ornament, consisting of circles inscribed somewhat irregularly within each other, and of curvilinear designs, much obliterated by use or the decay of the surface, is produced by engraved lines, with stippling or pounced work in the field. The dimensions and shape are in each precisely the same, but the decoration on the flat handle is considerably varied, both in the obverse and reverse, in each instance respectively. One has a circular perforation near the margin on the right side, the bowl being perfectly plain; the other has engraved in the centre of the bowl a small circle from which lines radiate at right angles, so as to present the appearance of a cross. The metal is of a yellow brass-like color. The dimensions are as follows,—length, including the handle, nearly $5\frac{5}{8}$ in.; breadth of the bowl, nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of the handle, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. Mr. Du Noyer, with the wonted sagacity of a minute observer, pointed out to me that the handle, in each of these examples, shows towards its left side, both on the obverse and reverse, indications of

⁵ Arch. Camb., second series, vol. i. p. 332.

⁶ The "Ecclesiastical Antiquities" (not stone), typical articles from "finds" in Crannoges, &c., have been reserved for the third instalment of Sir W. Wilde's catalogue of the museum of the R. I.

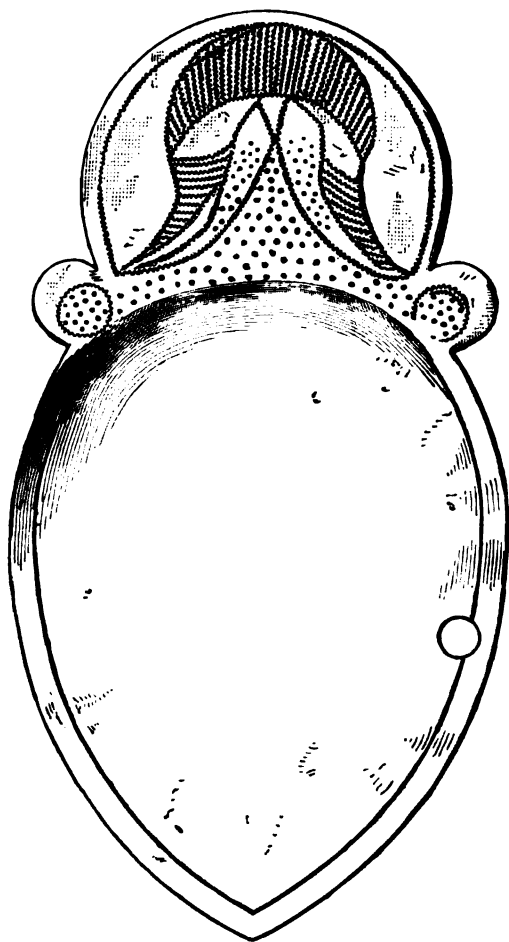
Academy. This section will also include objects of which the precise uses have not been ascertained with certainty. The bronze spoons under consideration have mostly been classed, as we believe, by the savans of the sister kingdom, with objects of sacred or ecclesiastical character.

BRONZE RELICS OF THE LATE CELTIC PERIOD.



12, 13.—Found in Ireland. Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Scale, two-thirds of the original size.

From drawings by the late George V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A.



14.—Found in Ireland. Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, deposited in trust by the Royal Dublin Society. Original size.

From a drawing by the late George V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A.

considerable wear with use. The engraved designs are much obliterated in that part, the result, as he believed, of handling; this may serve to indicate the manner in which these objects were habitually held between the thumb and finger.⁷ The metal is incrustated with a bright, polished green patina.

14, 15. The second pair, now preserved in the Museum of the Academy, has been there deposited in trust by the Royal Dublin Society. One spoon of this pair (fig. 14) has the perforation near the side, the counterpart (fig. 15) presents the central circle and radiating lines, in like manner as on the examples last described; they are produced by minute zigzag toolings, which I have noticed likewise in portions of the ornament of other specimens; it is remarkable to find such elaborate manipulation, where we might expect to see the steadily-sustained uniform stroke of the burin. I observed the same technical peculiarity in the marginal lines of the specimens found in Westmoreland (Nos. 9., 10.), but it is shown in a very remarkable manner in "Late Celtic" objects of a different description, for instance on the bronze mirror, to which I shall advert more fully hereafter, preserved in the Bedford Museum. On that highly elaborated example of Late Celtic skill, the whole of the intricate decoration is produced by delicate chevrony toolings. In the ornamentation of the pair of objects under consideration, the ground of the curvilinear designs on the handles is covered with punched or stippled work, forming minute circles or dimplings; Mr. Du Noyer assured me that the circle and radiating lines within the bowl had likewise been produced by a punch, whilst the marginal lines were deeply engraved. These minute details may not be undeserving of notice, as indicating the remarkable proficiency to which the metal-workers of the period had attained.

The dimensions are, in this instance, as follows:—length, 5 in.; breadth, of the bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of the handle, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The metal, according to Mr. Barnwell's description, is of a brown rusty color, a condition of surface not unusual in bronze relics found in Ireland, and produced probably by some

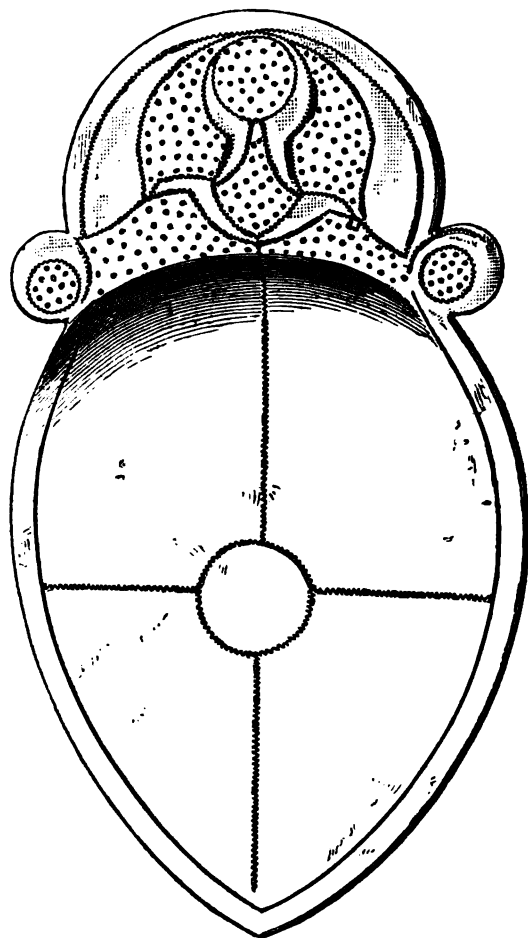
⁷ I believe that this curious pair was contributed to the Dublin Industrial Exhibition in 1853 by Mr. R. Murray, of

Mullingar, and that they are noticed in the Official Catalogue, No. 1886, p. 145 as "Patinas—two oval and pointed."

peculiar effect of the soil in which they had been deposited.

Having now endeavoured to relate the particulars connected with all the known examples, so far as it has been practicable to ascertain them, I proceed to offer a few remarks in regard to the period to which these objects may be ascribed, and the uses for which, as it has been imagined, they were destined. I have sought in vain for any circumstance associated with the discovery in any of the instances that I have recorded, and carefully endeavored to trace in the site or in the accompaniments of the deposit some of those trifling details that may serve to suggest the indication of its character or its date. I am not aware, however, that on any occasion in the discovery of one of these mysterious Celtic relics has any other ancient object been brought to light; it can scarcely be alleged that the position in which the deposit has occurred may afford reliable evidence. Some value, it is true, has been ascribed to the finding of such spoon-shaped relics in streams or near springs of water. This circumstance, however, must obviously be taken with caution as an indication of the purpose which any object thus discovered may have served. Its occurrence in the silt of the Thames, in some turbary or alluvial deposit, or in the accumulated debris that surrounds every site of long continued occupation, can fairly be accepted only as evidence that the habitations of successive races by which our island has been occupied were probably established near such localities. It is no marvel that the bed of our great Metropolitan river should present the most copious deposit of vestiges of every period, specially rich in those of the age that I have designated as "Late Celtic." The remarkable bronze decorations of shields, for example, rescued from the Thames at Battersea, and deposited in the British Museum by the Archæological Institute; the elaborate bronze shield also, brought to light in the river Witham, near Lincoln, and now in the armory at Goodrich Court, may be cited amongst numerous examples of the fluviatile treasures of the Celtic age.⁸ The endeavor to enumerate all the relics of that peculiar class which have occurred in the British islands would far exceed the limits of my present purpose; they will, as I hope, be fully illustrated at some future period by

⁸ *Horsæ Ferales*, p. 191, plates xiv., xvi.



15.—Found in Ireland. Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, deposited in trust by the Royal Dublin Society. Original size.

From a drawing by the late George V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A.

Mr. Franks, to whom this section of early antiquities has been long, as also to myself, an object of special interest. Meanwhile I would refer to the well-selected examples that have been figured by him in the *Horæ Ferales*. The remarkable series also brought before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Franks in 1858, may probably be in the remembrance of some of my readers.⁹ In this peculiar class of early remains the British islands are unrivalled, a few objects only, analogous in design, being found on the Continent. The relics in question, discovered in this country, consist of shields, swords, and daggers, personal ornaments, horse-furniture, and miscellaneous objects, some of iron, some of bronze, and frequently enriched with enamel. It may deserve notice that no relic that may be regarded with certainty as of a sacred or Christian character has hitherto, so far as I can ascertain, been brought to light. None is to be found in the classified Inventory of examples of "Late Celtic" Art, including a few brought to light in foreign countries, that has been given in the *Horæ Ferales*. I am unwilling to extend the present notices, already, as I fear, too diffuse, by citing many other precious relics of the same period not included in that list. I would advert, however, to the very remarkable one-handed, tankard-shaped vessel found in a turbary at Trawsfynydd, Merionethshire, not far from the Roman remains at Tomen y Mur, supposed to mark the position of a station to which the name of Heriri Mons has been assigned.¹ This object is now in the valuable museum that has been generously given to the town of Liverpool by the munificent promoter of archæological science, Mr. Mayer. The bronze relic of extraordinary fashion found in Galloway, and now in the antiquarian collection at Abbotsford, must also be mentioned as an unique and most characteristic example. It is admirably ornamented with designs of the peculiar curvilinear or "trumpet" type, closely resembling some of those on the Celtic "spoons" that have been described in the foregoing memoir. The form of this relic suggests that it may have been placed on the head of a small

⁹ Proceedings Soc. of Antiqu., vol. iv. pp. 144, 166.

¹ This unique specimen of "Late Celtic" was shown at the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Dolgellau, in 1850. Arch. Camb., N. S.,

vol. i. p. 332. It was formerly in possession of the late Mr. J. Lloyd of Pen-y-glanau, who collected numerous relics of interest in the locality, now unfortunately dispersed.

horse ; there are circular apertures, apparently eye-holes, at the sides ; from the forehead project a pair of long horns recurved inwards, measuring about 12 in. in length. I am indebted to the Secretary of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Dr. J. Alexander Smith, for the description of this very peculiar relic, of which he will give a full account in their Proceedings.² Lastly, I would invite attention to certain highly curious relics not included by Mr. Franks in his list above cited, namely, certain bronze mirrors, of which the reverses are engraved with elaborate designs that exemplify, in a most instructive manner, the peculiar types of Celtic ornamentation to which I have sought to invite attention as occurring on the "Spoons" now under consideration. In the absence of any other relics accompanying the deposits of these mysterious objects, as I have previously pointed out, it is by the character of the ornament alone that we can hope to be ultimately guided in establishing their date, and possibly also the uses for which they may have been originally intended.

I have desired to advert more particularly to the relics last mentioned, as presenting the most suggestive evidence that has come under my observation, in regard to the probability that the vestiges of the "Late Celtic" period, although not partaking of the character of Roman design, may occasionally be traced within the limits of Roman influence. I allude to the discovery of certain interments near Plymouth, described by Mr. Spence Bate in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for advancement of Science, for 1864. Two objects of admirable workmanship, supposed to be mirrors, unfortunately in imperfect state (diameter about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) were there disinterred, accompanying unburnt remains deposited in graves partly excavated in the natural rock, and partly deposited with pottery, personal ornaments of bronze, and various objects of undoubted Roman-British character. The whole have been figured imperfectly, and on a very inadequate scale in the serial above cited. I have, however, seen

² This extraordinary object was exhibited at a meeting of the Antiquaries of Scotland in December, 1867. It was found in a morass at Torrs, co. Kirkcudbright, and was presented to Sir Walter Scott ; it is now at Abbotsford. Dr. Smith will shortly give, in the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries, vol. vii.,

an account of this and of another object of bronze that bears the like Late Celtic decoration. This last resembles the lower part of the head of an animal, possibly an ox ; it was found in a morass near Banff, and is now in the museum of that town. Both are noticed in the New Statistical Account of Scotland.

in the possession of my friend, Mr. Franks, an accurate facsimile or "rubbing" of the engraved ornament, and I have thus been enabled to speak without hesitation of its strongly marked character as properly belonging to the Celtic period. Of these very remarkable objects that have not been noticed by him in his inventory already cited, three other examples are known to me, each of them characterised in a striking degree by the peculiarities of the "Late Celtic" ornamentation. One of these supposed mirrors is preserved in the Museum of the Archæological Society of Bedford. Through the courteous assistance of Mr. James Wyatt, of that place, to whose researches the student of palæolithic remains is so much indebted, I have been enabled to examine this admirably wrought Celtic specimen. It was found, as he informs me, in the excavations for the Warden tunnel, on the Midland Railway, about six miles from Bedford; Mr. Wyatt believes that Roman coins and portions of large amphoræ were found with it, but these were speedily dispersed and sold by the navvies; the bronze plate broken into several pieces, was, fortunately, regarded as of no value; it was rescued by the Rev. G. Mellor, and by him presented to the Museum. The site of the deposit is near places where various Roman relics have been found; and one of the workmen stated that a large bronze pan was likewise brought to light in the works for the tunnel. The supposed mirror presents on its decorated reverse one of the most typical examples of the trumpet-shaped decorations hitherto obtained; it is wholly produced by delicate zigzag work, executed with much delicacy and precision; the technical peculiarity of fine chevrons tooling has already been noticed; it resembles in a certain degree the elaborate decorations of some of the Irish Antiquities of gold figured in Sir W. R. Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The disk of the beautiful relic at Bedford is slightly kidney-shaped, it measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter; the handle, which may have been enriched with enamel, measures about 4 inches in length.³

These relics have appeared to claim special notice, not

³ This curious object was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, and is briefly noticed in their Proceedings, Second Series, vol. i. p. 263, where the conjecture is stated that it might have served as a pendant of horse-furniture. A valuable

Late Celtic relic of another class was brought by Mr. Franks on the same occasion, an iron sword in a bronze sheath, the latter ornamented with scrolls and hatched lines. It was found near Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire.

merely as typical exemplifications of the ornamentation that in greater or less degree characterises the antiquities of the period, but on account of their having occurred in connection with Roman remains, and thus affording a proximate indication of the date to be ascribed to the class of objects under consideration.

Of the other two mirrors of similar description, one (diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is in the Museum so munificently presented by Mr. Mayer to the town of Liverpool;⁴ the other forms part of a remarkable deposit of bronze relics found in a moss in the parish of Balmaclellan, New Galloway, consisting of plates that had probably been attached to a box in which the more valuable articles had been placed; also a crescent-shaped plate, and the mirror (diam., the handle included, 13 in.) that have been figured by Dr. Wilson in his *Pre-historic Annals*.⁵ He points out the resemblance of the ornamentation to that of the head-ring found at Stitchell, and the Plunton Castle armlet, before cited as remarkable specimens of "Late Celtic" work.

To the valuable monograph in the *Horæ Ferales* I would refer any readers who desire to investigate the section of Celtic antiquities, to which I have thus imperfectly invited their attention, as immediately associated with the curious group of relics, the bronze "spoons" specially under consideration.

In connection with the foregoing remarks on such objects as may aid our conclusions in regard to the date, approximately, of the spoon-like relics, by careful comparison with certain other examples that bear most distinctly the stamp of analogous ornamentation, I cannot omit to mention the gold rings and Gaulish coins found in Belgium, at Frasnes, near Tournay. They were made known in this country by Mr. Roach Smith, to whose acute observations archæological

⁴ This specimen was purchased in Paris by Mr. J. C. Robinson, by whom it was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1854 as a Celtic or Gallo-Roman mirror; the place of discovery unknown. *Proceedings, Soc. Ant.*, vol. iii. p. 118. I am informed by Mr. Franks that it was probably found in the bed of the Thames, in the neighbourhood of Barnes. I have a representation of it, by the kindness of Mr. Ercroft Smith, curator of the collection at Liverpool; it is evidently an object of the same class as those found in

Devon and Bedfordshire.

⁵ Vol. ii. edit. 1863, p. 228; see also Mr. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., Appendix to the Preface, p. 10. Similar mirrors occur very frequently amongst the symbols on the monuments so admirably figured in that work. The curious circlet found in 1747 at Stitchell, Roxburghshire, is figured by Dr. Wilson, *ut supra*, p. 146. See also an account of the armlet, *ibid.* p. 147, and in this *Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 194, where it is figured.

science has been under constant obligations; photographs were brought before the Numismatic Society through Mr. Evans, and the evidence obtained through this find was stated by him in a memoir published in the Numismatic Chronicle, with a plate by the skilful hand of the late Mr. Fairholt.⁶ The value of the discovery consists, as Mr. Roach Smith pointed out, in the fact that the gold coins give an approximate date to the ornaments by which they are accompanied; the most remarkable being a massive penannular ring (diam. about 8 in.) enriched with scroll ornaments in high relief, of the "Late Celtic" character, somewhat modified as compared with such as have occurred in the British islands; amongst these is here introduced the head of the ox, an object that appears to have been associated with some peculiar superstition. Mr. Evans has shown with most lucid precision the grounds of his conclusion that the gold imitations of the *stater* of Philip II., which accompanied the deposit at Frasnes, may be ascribed to about B.C. 80. In regard to the occurrence of a penannular collar in "Late Celtic" times, a very interesting example is supplied by one exhibited by the Rev. Edward Duke, at the meeting of the Institute at Salisbury, in 1849. It was found in Cornwall in 1802, in a stream-work, called Trenoweth, and was supposed to be of "Corinthian brass." I had been, however, assured that it is of gold. The punched and engraved decorations bear distinct resemblance to those of numerous relics enumerated by Mr. Franks, in his Inventory, before cited.⁷

The analogy that is to be traced in certain details of ornament, especially in early illuminated MSS. of ascertained date, and in elaborately enriched crosses or other unquestionably Christian monuments, for example, in the series of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," admirably illustrated by the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers, and by Mr. Stuart, has led some of our most reliable authorities to the conclusion that the "Late Celtic" remains referred to in the foregoing memoir, with the spoon-like objects also, so distinctly characterised by identity of ornamentation, should be assigned for

⁶ Numism. Chron., N. S. vol. iv. pl. v.; see also Rev. de la Numismatique Belge, 1864, p. 140.

⁷ This relic measures about 6½ inches in diameter. It is figured in the Archaeologia, vol. xvi., p. 137, pl. x. Another

collar, engraved with designs of distinct "Late Celtic" character, was in the possession of Mr. Charles Hall of Osmington, Dorset, and is figured in the annual volume produced by the Anastatic Drawing Society, 1858, pl. 35.

the most part to a comparatively recent period of Post-Roman antiquity, namely, to the sixth, or possibly to the eighth century. It must, however, be carefully considered, that in the numerous objects of bronze comprised in Mr. Franks' Inventory, to which doubtless many might be added, including those that form the special subject of the present memoir, a marked difference is to be observed. Certain types of decorative design, the interlaced riband, the lacertine or zoomorphic, namely, a prevalent combination of animal forms, some peculiar whorls or spirals also, elaborate mæanders, with other varieties, profusely introduced in the rich illuminated pages of early MSS., or on the sculptured monuments, are scarcely if ever to be found on the relics of bronze. Those more complex and artificial, although less graceful, motives of ornamentation appear, as I imagine, to indicate a more recent period of art, modified doubtless in some instances by local taste or caprice.⁸

As regards, then, the probable date of the spoon-like objects, and of the other relics that bear the distinct impress of the same peculiar type of ornamentation, I am disposed to concur in the conclusions of my friend Mr. Franks who, more than any one, has devoted attention to this particular class of bronze antiquities, and to believe that "they are probably not more ancient than the introduction of coinage into Britain, from 200 to 100 B.C., and not much later than the close of the first century after Christ, when the Roman dominion in this country was firmly established. This date would account for the occasional discovery of such remains with, or in close proximity to Roman antiquities, and also for the influence that their designs seem to have exercised over certain phases of Roman colonial art, in which, however, their wild and studied irregularity of design are brought into subjection, though at the same time the patterns lose much of their charm and originality."⁹

It has been suggested to me, however, that the close resemblance of certain motives of ornamentation occurring on the "Spoons," as compared with those on the sculptured

⁸ I would here refer specially to Mr. Westwood's admirable works on Ancient Art in the British Islands, exemplified in MSS., and to his instructive memoir, *Arch. Journal*, vol. x. p. 283; *Paleographia Sacra Pictoria*, &c. Our lamented friend Kemble, in his address to the Royal Irish

Academy, in 1857, gave one of his masterly outlines of a complex subject, and has set forth in a striking manner his impressions of the peculiarities of Celtic design.

⁹ *Horn's Ferales*, p. 189; see also *Proceedings Soc. of Antiqu.*, vol. iv. p. 46.

monuments in North Britain, appears to justify the conclusion that the date, in both instances, may be nearly the same. Mr. Irvine pointed out in regard to the specimen in my own possession (fig. 2) the similarity in design to that of the incised work on the slab found at St. Peter's Kirk, South Ronaldshay, and now in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland.¹ The approximative date of the Scottish sculptures appears, according to the sagacious conclusions of Mr. Stuart, to be shortly after the establishment of Christianity in the Pictish country; some of them may be as he states, of the early part of the eighth century.² Mr. Westwood, our highest authority on the classification of the various types of ornament that prevailed in the British islands, is of opinion that the ornamentation on the "Spoons" may be assigned to about that period or a little earlier; he reminded me of the enameled disks found near Warwick, and published by me in this Journal, in 1845; they, doubtless, bear comparison with the designs in MSS. of the sixth or seventh century.³ The triple spirals and other features that occur in these and in other relics, appear to retain a considerable tradition of the peculiar Celtic motives occurring on the "Spoons," and characterising, as I imagine, with my friend Mr. Franks, the relics of a somewhat earlier age.⁴ These, however, are points of difficulty that I must leave to the judgment of those more intimately conversant than myself with the *incunabula* of art in the British islands.

In the endeavour to ascertain the date of the peculiar spoon-shaped Celtic relics, I have sought to trace any feature of resemblance amongst Roman or other early appliances of the like description found in Britain. The occasional occurrence of "Late Celtic" objects on Roman sites, although no instance has been traced of the deposit of any of the spoons near vestiges of that period, gave encouragement to seek

¹ Figured by Mr. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones, First Series*, pl. xcvi. Mr. Irvine adverted also, amongst other Irish examples, to the remarkable resemblance in the ornamentation of some bone plaques found in a Cromlech by Eugene O'Connell. The peculiar Celtic curvilinear designs and "trumpet" pattern, doubtless occurs on several of the Scottish monuments, and also in illuminated Irish and Scottish MSS. but almost invariably combined with interlaced ribands, lacertine, and

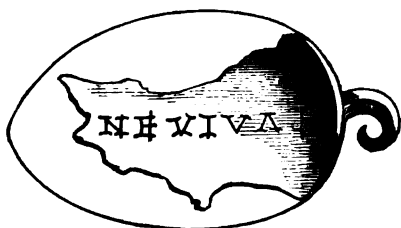
other animal forms, that are not found on the "Spoons," and rarely if ever on other "Late Celtic" bronzes.

² *Sculptured Stones of Scotland. Second Series, Preface*, p. 17.

³ *Arch. Journal*, vol. ii. p. 162.

⁴ A single example of a bronze ornament on which the Celtic complicated curves are found combined with interlaced ribands is a brooch figured in Sir W. Wilde's Catalogue, *R. I. Acad.*, p. 569.

some suggestive resemblance in such examples of the *cochlear* as have been brought to light in this country. The ordinary forms are well known, they differ materially from the Celtic "Spoons," if indeed we may conclude that these last were actually for any such familiar uses as those for which ordinary spoons were intended, and for which some have regarded the broad, shallow form and inconvenient handle of the examples that I have figured as very ill adapted. Of the *cochlear* we find numerous specimens, of metal and of bone, figured in Mr. Roach Smith's Roman London, and in other works familiar to the reader; the most common form being that with an oval bowl and long, pointed handle; of this a good example, found at Colchester, was exhibited by Mr. C. Tucker, at our Norwich meeting; it has in the cavity or *pecten* the inscription in niello—AETERNVS VIVAS.⁵ Another inscribed example, peculiar in its short hooked handle, is here figured; it is of silver, and was found near Sunderland. The cavity, when perfect, doubtless bore the inscription—BENE VIVAS. I am indebted to the north country antiquary, Mr. Hylton Longstaffe, F.S.A., for this curious Roman relic, hitherto unpublished.



Silver Roman Spoon. Orig. size.

The *cochlear*, with a circular cavity and long handle, is also of frequent occurrence; it has been sometimes regarded as a spoon for incense; Caylus⁶ gives an example with the cavity perforated like a strainer, and Wagener figures one of bronze, of

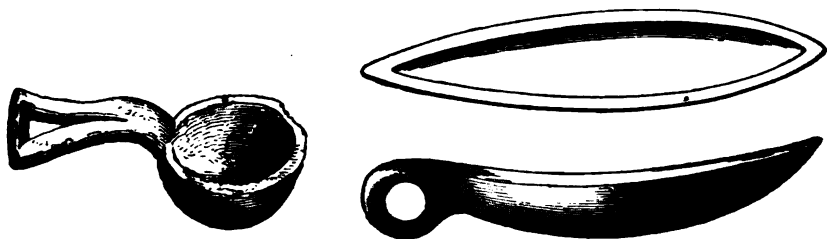
which the little bowl is marked with transverse lines, like a cross, and in that respect somewhat similar to the Celtic spoons, very different in form, described in the foregoing memoir. There are a few Roman relics of this description with singularly short handles, suited only for suspension; two

⁵ Figured in the Transactions of the Institute, Norwich, 1847; Museum Catalogue, p. xxviii., where several Roman spoons are noticed. A specimen found at Avenches, Switzerland, published by Schmidt, is inscribed VTERE FELIX.

⁶ Caylus, Recueil, t. v., p. 216; Wagener, Handbuch, 323. Many other

specimens of the *cochlear*, varied slightly in form, may be cited; see Archæologia, vol. x. pl. xi.; Akerman, Archæol. Index, pl. xiii.; Archæol. Journ., vol. viii. p. 40. Illustrations of Ancient Art, Pompeii and Herculaneum, by Archdeacon Trollope, pl. 28.

are here figured ; the first was found with Roman coins near Lancaster, a similar little spoon was also found at Caerleon.⁷



Found at Lancaster. Orig. size.

Found at Chesterford. Orig. size.

The second, of remarkably elongated boat-shaped fashion, was obtained in the late Lord Braybrooke's excavations of Roman remains at Chesterford. Both are of bronze.

The only Roman objects of this class known to me that bear distinct indication of Christian date, although probably not intended for any sacred uses, are certain very long-handled silver spoons, of which no example, so far as I am aware, has occurred in this country. They have been repeatedly found in Italy. The handle is usually united to the *pecten* by a flat shoulder, on the sides of which are usually introduced Christian symbols in niello. A good example that I examined in the Lambert Collection of antiquities found at Lyons bears, on one side, the Greek letter Rho, traversed at right angles by a cross stroke, probably a variety of the familiar Christian monogram. The handle is marked with the maker's name—MVNEHARL.

It is scarcely needful to remark that in these Roman types we find no resemblance to the "Late Celtic" spoons, either in form or workmanship. If we seek examples of the succeeding period, namely, about the date to which these last have been assigned by some archæologists, certain curious spoons with perforated bowls claim attention, associated with the remains designated Anglo-Saxon. In these likewise, however, no similarity is to be traced. In the excavation of a grave near Chatham, as related by Douglas in the *Nenia*, a silver spoon, partly washed with gold, was found with

⁷ Figured by Mr. Lee, Catalogue Museum at Caerleon, pl. xxxv.; Arch. Cambr., vol. iii. pl. v. A similar relic, found at Castle Field, Manchester, is in the Museum at Worsley Hall. Baines,

Hist. of Lancashire, vol. ii. p. 161. Battely figures a short-handled "*cochleare mensurale*" found at Richborough, of a type that I have not elsewhere noticed. Antiqu. Rutup, tab. xi. p. 126.

other ornaments, accompanying unburnt remains, as supposed, of a female; the handle is enriched with garnets; the bowl is circular, diameter about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., with numerous small perforations. It was imagined by Douglas that this relic had been used for some magical purpose, but of this there is no proof. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum.⁸ A spoon of mixed metal gilt, likewise perforated, but with five small holes only, was found in an Anglo-Saxon barrow at Stodmarsh, Kent; the bowl is circular, at the junction of the handle, which is plain and straight, there is a triangular flat piece of garnet, such as frequently occurs in ornamental work of the period.⁹ Saxon spoons of another form found at Southampton are figured by Mr. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* vol. iv. p. 58.

Mr. Barnwell notices some spoons of bronze, probably cast, preserved in the Museum at Bourges. By his kindness I am permitted to give a representation of one of these, on a slightly reduced scale; instead of handles these objects have hooks, probably for suspension. Although of different form, these might doubtless serve for the like purpose, whatever it may have been, as the Celtic relics.¹



I cannot conclude these notices without offering a few remarks on certain conjectural explanations that have been proposed, in regard to the uses for which the "Late Celtic" spoon-like objects were possibly intended. I am, however, wholly unable to suggest any probable solution of the enigma. The obscurity in which the purpose of several remarkable relics

of the same period is involved, seems to me in this instance to present an almost impenetrable mystery.

The supposition that the "Spoons" in question may be of early Christian use seems to have found ready acceptance,

⁸ *Nenia Brit.* p. 6; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxiii. p. 67.

⁹ Figured in a memoir by Mr. Akerman, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., pl. xvi. p. 180. The occurrence of a spoon with ancient interments in the British islands is rare; Douglas mentions "a metal spoon" found in the early burial places in Westray, one of the Orkney Islands.

Nenia, p. 76.

¹ *Arch. Cambr.*, third series, vol. x. p. 61. The place where these spoons are preserved is there given as Bruges, but Mr. Barnwell informs me that it should be Bourges. Notices and representations of spoons of all ages and countries are given by Mr. H. O. Westman, in a volume entitled "The Spoon." London, 1845.

suggested, as I imagine, by the occurrence of lines engraved transversely in the cavity of the object, in some instances radiating from a central circle or a lozenge-shaped compartment, as in fig. 7. This roughly scored marking, that occurs only on the spoons that are without a perforation at the edge, has doubtless at first sight a certain resemblance to the Christian symbol.² I may observe that, in every specimen hitherto examined, it appears to have been produced by the same hand and tool as the other engraved lines, and to be contemporary with the original workmanship. It is not, as I believe, an addition at some subsequent period, by which a pagan appliance might be, so to speak, hallowed for Christian uses. The occurrence of any sacred relic of such description in the British islands is so rare, that the interest of the Celtic spoons would doubtless be greatly enhanced were their association with the early times of Christianity satisfactorily established. In the present instance, however, this must I think be regarded as questionable. Had the skilful artificer by whom these spoons were fabricated really intended to mark them with a Christian symbol, I feel assured that it would never have been in so imperfect and rude a fashion; one only of the pair, it will also be observed, bears the supposed sacred emblem. We fail to find, in any instance, the introduction of any decisive evidence, such as would unquestionably occur on objects so carefully elaborated,—for instance, the sacred monogram composed of the letters Chi and Rho, the most prevalent symbol on the earliest Christian relics, the only symbol moreover hitherto found in this country on vestiges of so early a date as Roman occupation of Britain, and that which had become generally familiar through the coinage of Constantine and his successors in the fourth century. Had we found on any of the numerous “Late Celtic” relics an example of this or of any equally decisive indication of Christianity, there could have been no hesitation in assigning the “Spoons” to some early period after the introduction of the true faith into Britain.

² I might here advert to other objects of early antiquity that bear cruciform markings, and which we have no reason to regard as of Christian date. Such are the gold pellets found with Celtic relics in Scotland. Wilson, *Prehist. Annals*, vol. i. p. 464, vol. ii. p. 261; *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 217. I have described

several urns bearing cruciform designs, found with early British interments, that seem to belong to pre-Christian times. *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxiv. p. 22; *Arch. Cambr.*, third series, vol. xiv. p. 256, 278. On this curious subject see De Mortillet, *Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme*.

A single object of Roman times has been brought to light, so far as I am aware, in this country, bearing that symbol, namely, a silver bowl ornamented with foliage and the conjoined Greek letters above mentioned; it was found in Northumberland at *Corstopitum* near the Roman Wall.³

There are various peculiar ritual usages, both in the Latin and the Eastern Church, connected with the use of a spoon; such an appliance was doubtless long employed in this country. To some of these Mr. Barnwell adverts in his remarks on the Celtic spoons.⁴ As regards the supposed use of these last in the administration of the Eucharist, he has pointed out the improbability that any appliance would be employed formed of metal so liable as bronze to become corroded by the wine. The injunctions of the Canons, with many evidences of ancient usage in this respect, have been often cited, and claim careful consideration. It was enjoined that the chalice should be of pure molten material, gold or silver, glass or tin; horn was forbidden, especially wood, "propter porositatem." It is probable that such restrictions may have been recognised from an early period in regard to the materials of which all appliances provided for the most sacred of Christian rites should be formed. The objection to glass is stated by Lyndwode to have been its fragile nature, whilst the sacred vessel should not be "de cupro, quia provocat vomitum, nec de aurichalco, quia contrahit rubiginem." The occasional neglect of any such regulations, probably enjoined, not only in regard to the chalice, but also to minor objects of sacred use, may be inferred from the reiterated prohibition. Mr. Nesbitt, to whose intimate knowledge of Christian Art we have often been indebted, reminds me that a "calix æneus" was used by St. Columbanus, towards the close of the sixth century; a bronze chalice of Irish-German character of the eighth century is preserved also at the Convent of Kremsmünster on the Danube.

³ This vessel, weighing 20oz, has probably perished. An account of the discovery, with a drawing of the bowl, is preserved in the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries. The discovery is slightly mentioned by Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, third edition, p. 342, and also an altar found at Vindobala on the Wall, and supposed to have borne the Christian monogram. This, however, is doubtful. It is figured *ibid.*, p. 128. Two other

remarkable instances of the use of the Chi-Rho may be cited, namely, the Roman mosaic, found in 1796 at Frampton, Dorset, and published by Lysons, and some roughly inscribed stones obtained in recent excavations at Chedworth, Wilts. On the tessellated floor the symbol accompanies a head of Neptune, with figures of several heathen deities.

⁴ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. x. p. 58.

It has been suggested that the Celtic spoons would be more suitable for aspersion in baptismal rites; for such a purpose the liability to corrosion would cause no objection to the use of bronze. I am not aware whether any evidence of the ancient use of such an object may be found, especially in early times when immersion was the prevalent practice. In some places at the present day a shell-like object is doubtless employed; I am informed by the Earl of Limerick that he recently noticed this practice in the south of France. He obtained at Cannes one of these modern baptismal spoons; it is a shell polished and engraved, and it has a perforation resembling those in the ancient bronze spoons. An appliance of this description is likewise to be found in our own country, occasionally even in certain places of worship of the Established Church.⁵

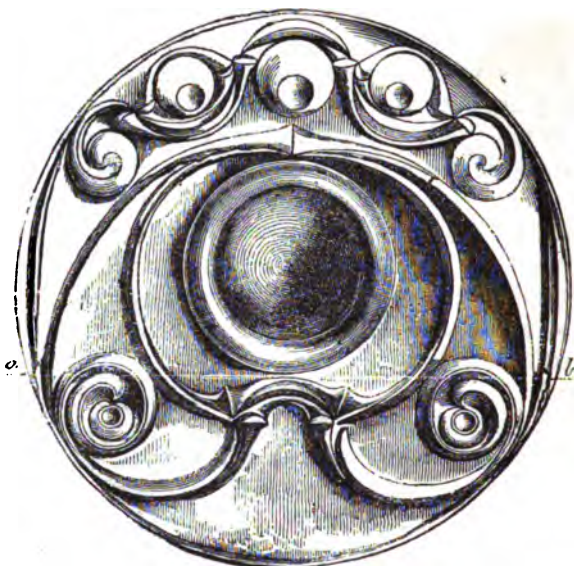
A friend, who has closely investigated the details of sacred archaeology, on whose knowledge also of such subjects I have great reliance, is of opinion that the spoons may have been used in administering the Eucharist after having being dipped in the wine, "*vino intinctam*." Such an object, with the hole at the side, seems well suited for lifting a sop from a shallow vessel, allowing the wine to drain off, and then placing the sop in the mouth of the communicant. He suggests that the shallow bronze pans, found in Ireland, that have a cavity in the centre, and are enriched with the "trumpet pattern," of the same period as the ornamentation of the spoons, may have been used for the "intinction." The objection to this conjecture, as he points out, is the fact that the spoons are usually found in pairs, one of the pair being without the perforation. I am indebted to the Royal Irish Academy, through the friendly courtesy of Mr. Clibborn, for the accompanying illustration; six of these remarkable relics have been found; their details and workmanship are minutely described by Sir W. R. Wilde.⁶ The woodcut is a reproduction from two imperfect specimens, by the skilful pencil,

⁵ A silver shell or spoon-shaped object, as I have been informed, is used in baptisms at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in lieu of aspersion by the hand. Dr. Huxenbeth has told me that such objects of silver or mother o' pearl, and natural shells are commonly used in Roman Catholic churches; they are supplied by Messrs. Hardman, Evans, and other

manufacturers of sacred appliances.

⁶ Catal. Mus. R. I. Academy, p. 637. See also Mr. Franks' notice of these objects in his inventory of "*Late Celtic*" relics; *Horæ Ferales*, p. 183. No similar disk has been found in England; a specimen is preserved in the British Museum. It has been supposed that they were ornamental portions of shields.

I believe, of my lamented friend Dunoyer ; it may not be strictly accurate in all the curious design ; the line *a b* indicates the restored portion.



Bronze disk ; L to Celtic period. Mus. Royal Irish Acad. Diameter, about 11 inches.

In regard to these mysterious disks, it must be observed, that Rabanus Maurus, the learned opponent of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the ninth century, enjoins that the wine should not be consecrated in a *catinum*, nor in a *crater*, but only in a chalice. Hence it may fairly be inferred, that a pan or shallow vessel had occasionally been employed in the Eucharist ; elaborate bronze objects such as that above figured may have been adapted for such uses.

Mr. Clibborn informs me that several persons who have examined the bronze spoons in the Museum of the Irish Academy, the Bishop of Brechin, and other visitors also conversant with the ritual of the Greek Church, have considered them to be identical with the *labida* used for the administration of the bread after being dipped in the chalice. The form of this spoon is shown by Goar, from whose *Euchologium* the accompanying woodcut has been copied.⁷

⁷ Goar, *Rituale Græcorum*, p. 152, in his ample notes on the *Ordo* for the mass, attributed to S. John Chrysostom. I am indebted to Mr. Barnwell for this representation of the eucharistic spoon of the

Oriental rite. He remarks very truly that it seems as conveniently formed for the purpose, as the broad, shallow, Celtic articles are inconveniently adapted.

This ancient usage of the Eastern Christian was, doubtless, adopted at a certain period in some churches in the British Islands. It is highly probable that the little spoon



The *Labida*, used in the Greek Church.

found about 1849, under St. Martin's Cross, at Iona, may have been intended for such ritual use. It was in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. In the Exhibition of Irish Antiquities, at the meeting of the British Association at Belfast, in 1852, a small gold spoon found in the river Bann was shown. The stem is spiral, the little oval bowl measures five-eighths of an inch in length. It was supposed to have been used for some eucharistic purpose.⁸

I have thus adverted to certain suggestions that I have received in regard to the intentions of the Celtic relics. The investigation has led me, I fear, into details that may appear tediously prolonged. It has been my desire to invite attention to a section of that remarkable class of early remains, the peculiar interest of which was so highly appreciated by our lamented friend, Kemble, in his eloquent address to the Royal Irish Academy in 1857. Canon Rock, with the friendly readiness always shown by him in contributing to our instruction or gratification, has promised to give us the results of his enquiries into the supposed connexion of the Bronze Spoons with early Christian rites : so perplexing a subject of sacred archæology cannot fail to find, through the erudition and sagacity of the author of "The Church of our Fathers," a most efficient exponent.

ALBERT WAY.

The Institute is indebted to the Cambrian Archæological Association, to the liberality also of their treasurer, the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, and of another member, both of that society and our own, for the illustrations of the foregoing memoir.

⁸ Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i. p. 81, where the Irish example is figured. The spoon, in possession of the Duke of

Argyll, has been described as of gold : it is of bronze, length about 4 inches.

Original Documents.

CONFIRMATION BY THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, OF THE CHURCH OF BEXLEY, KENT, WITH CERTAIN TITHES AND OTHER RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, TO THE CANONS OF THE PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, LONDON.

Communicated by JOSEPH BURTT, one of the Assistant-Keepers of Public Records.

THE following charter, to which the seal of Thomas à Becket, unfortunately in imperfect condition, is appended, has been preserved amongst the Public Records, with the numerous evidences that formerly belonged to the Priory of Augustine Canons of Christ Church, or the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate, London.

The History of that grand institution is to be found in the *Monasticon*; ¹ the Chartularies and numerous evidences to which references have been supplied by Tanner and other writers supply materials for a more ample account of its possessions. The charters that have been given in the last edition of Dugdale's great work, are partly from a roll in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, with others that had been given in the *Fœdera* and by Stevens. The originals, however, of by far the greater number of documents relating to the Priory of Christ Church, London, from the time of Henry I. inclusive, if not almost the whole of the series which still remains uncalendered, exists in the great depository of our National Archives. Their history is that of many other similar collections there preserved. Seized into the King's hands by the Commissioners of Henry VIII. at the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, the muniments were deposited in the Royal Treasury. The site of the Priory being granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then Lord Chancellor, he was probably content that the muniments of the House should remain undisturbed in the royal possession. They were subsequently drafted into the Chapter House of Westminster, when that building was made the receptacle of the contents of the Royal Treasuries, and thence they were removed to the Public Record Office. The muniments of the Priory of the Holy Trinity must at one time have been exceedingly numerous; their property having been very extensive. So many documents, however, have been distributed in their present arrangement, and are to be sought for under the places referred to in them, that it would be difficult now to estimate their number, as they do not always carry with them the evidence of the original ownership.

The present charter is taken from a small number of instruments

¹ Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi., part 1, pp. 15C—165, edit. Calcy.



Counterseal, set with an antique intaglio, used by Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From a seal preserved amongst the Public Records.

relating to Bexley, in Kent, in the diocese of Rochester; amongst these are preserved the two charters, to which reference is made in the confirmation by Becket here printed. These are the charters of his predecessors, William Corboyl, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1123-1136, and Theobald, A. D. 1138, after whose decease in 1161, the see having remained vacant upwards of a year, Becket was elected in 1162. These documents are both to the same effect as the subjoined confirmation by Becket—granting the church of St. Mary of Bexley to the monastery of the Holy Trinity. The charter by archbishop Thomas is somewhat fuller than those of his predecessors, as he grants also herbage for ten cattle in the demesne lands of the archbishop, with some other privileges. There is warrant for this grant, however, in another charter in this collection, namely, the charter of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, before William Corboyl (A. D. 1114—1122), granting to the church of Bexley the privilege of feeding eight animals in the demesne of the Archbishop, and ten pigs in his woods without paying pannage.

It does not appear, so far as I am aware, that the canons of Christ Church had enjoyed any privileges or concessions in the extensive parish of Bexley, previously to the grant by William Corboyl. This is, however, very probable.² The foundation of the Priory within Aldgate, it will be remembered, has been attributed to the influence of Archbishop Anselm, and of Richard Beaumeis, bishop of London; through their persuasions it was that, according to the most probable statement, Queen Maud, A. D. 1108, established there a monastery for canons regular of the Order of St. Austin, then newly brought into England. The interest thus evinced by the archbishop, in the institution of the Priory, may, doubtless, have been accompanied by some more substantial evidences of encouragement. Bexley had been given by Cenulph, king of Mercia, to Archbishop Wilfred, and it is found amongst the possessions of the see in Domesday; it is, however, within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Rochester; hence the grant in confirmation now brought before our readers is addressed to the bishop of Rochester.³ The right to the church of Bexley was long in litigation between the canons of Christ Church and the archbishop; but at length, in 29 Hen. III., on an appeal to the Pope, a definitive sentence was given in favor of the Priory, and it was confirmed by the bull of Alexander IV.

The interest of the following document, although relating to the ancient possessions of one of the most important of the monastic establishments of the metropolis, doubtless consists chiefly in the remarkable seal attached to it. No impression of this *Secretum*, or privy seal, used by Archbishop Thomas has hitherto, so far as we are aware, been noticed. Unfortunately, the obverse of the impression in the present instance has entirely scaled off and perished. The Archbishop's counter-seal, however, here figured, is of considerable interest and in perfect preservation. It is of oval form, the dimensions are $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch by somewhat less than an inch; the device is a nude figure standing, with one hand resting on a short column; the setting was, doubtless, an antique intaglio that may have

² See the *Litteræ diffinitivæ super questione de Ecclesia de Bixle, &c.*, between the Archbishop and the Prior and convent of the Holy Trinity. Dugdale, Mon. Angl., vol. vi. p. 163, edit. Caley.

³ Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury, brother of Archbishop Theobald, consecrated bishop of Rochester A. D. 1147-48, died 1182.

represented Mercury, but the usual attributes are not distinctly seen. It has been imagined that some indication of the winged *petasus* may be traced on the head. The broad flat rim in which this gem was set bears the following legend in bold letters :—†SIGILLVM TOME LVND.—The seal was protected by a kind of wrapper, or open case, not uncommonly used at the period, and consisting of two oval pieces of silk or other soft tissue, that were attached together at the upper end only, through which the parchment label at the foot of the document passed. The material in the present instance is of pinkish brown tissue, diapered with a richly floriated pattern of green color; the lining is of fine red cloth, like thin canvas, and the edges are carefully stitched with green. By this simple contrivance the fragile wax was more effectually protected than by enclosing it in a small bag, as sometimes was the practice, and by folding back the wrapper the seal was more conveniently exposed to view. To the lower extremity of each of the oval pads is attached a small tassel of green silk. In the woodcut, the moiety of the wrapper that covered the reverse of the impression is represented as turned back.

It is scarcely necessary to remark how frequently antique gems were used by dignitaries of the church and ecclesiastics, and likewise by other persons, as personal or privy seals. Several remarkable examples might be cited in the series of archiepiscopal seals at Canterbury. It is probable that the selection of a device amongst antique intagli was, in many instances, influenced either by the notion of certain physical and phylacteric virtue attributed to it, or by a supposed allusion in its design to some incident or person in sacred story. The suggestion, that in the seal under consideration, any such notion may have guided the distinguished prelate by whom it was used, in the choice of a device, may, doubtless, appear too conjectural to claim attention. If, however, we accept the supposition that the intaglio used as a seal by Thomas à Becket is actually a representation of the messenger of the Gods, the device might doubtless have been very suitably chosen by the archbishop, since the virtues attributed to such a gem in mediæval *lapidaria* were as follows:—"Est et alius lapis in quo habetur Mercurius; qui hunc habuerit tantum abundabit sapientia atque gratia ut nemo sibi resistere possit. Gratus erit Deo et omni populo, et perpetua gaudebit sanitate."⁴

The use of intagli, for the most part antique gems, as privy seals, is an interesting fact in mediæval sphragistics; Mr. Roach Smith has figured a large number of examples in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv., plates 18 to 20. An unusual mode of impressing the *Secretum* occurs on the fine seal of one of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, A.D. 1206—1228. A small oval intaglio here appears immediately below the figure; the impression, probably, of a ring, being so made that it effaces part of the base on which the Archbishop stands, and also three letters of the legend. The intaglio in this instance is not, as commonly the case, a gem of classical antiquity; the subject is the Temptation in Paradise. This singular mode of introducing the personal or privy seal occurs likewise on some of the magnificent great seals of the Imperial series.

⁴ Treatise "de sculpturis lapidum," *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 449. One of the most singular instances of the use of antique intagli by mediæval prelates is

the gnostic gem found in Chichester Cathedral, with the remains, as supposed, of Bishop Seffrid, who died 1151. It is figured *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xx. p. 235.

The fine seal of Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1244—1270, had four small oval intagli, apparently antiques, inserted in the field, two on either side of the figure.

It has been truly remarked by the learned biographer of the Archbishops of Canterbury, that "the controversies, with respect to Becket, commence with his very name. His father was certainly called Gilbert Becket, and admitting that surnames in the twelfth century were not hereditary, yet we find Thomas addressed as Becket by his murderers; the name was, doubtless, uttered by them as an expression of contempt."⁵ It would exceed the limits of our present purpose to examine the conflicting opinions of many authorities by whom the subject has been discussed, but we cannot omit to invite attention to the indisputable evidence here presented on the privy seal of the Archbishop, that even in his highest distinction he had not wholly abandoned the name by which in the days of his earlier career he had been known—"Tomas Londoniensis," or "Thomas de Londoniis." It has been suggested, as Dr. Hook remarks, that he was "known to his contemporaries as Thomas of London, perhaps rather as Thomas of Cheapside, as we say John of Oxford, and Herbert of Bosham; and such, we can have little doubt, was the case until he became Thomas the Archdeacon, Thomas the Chancellor, and Thomas the Archbishop."⁶ It is needless now to seek the precise time when the son of the Norman settler in our metropolis—"Gilbertus quidam cognomento *Becchet*, patria Rotomagensis,"—may have changed his proper patronymic, that doubtless had originated in a nickname suggested by some slight personal deformity,⁷ for the name derived from the place of his birth. The appellation Becket is not unfamiliar to visitors of Rouen at the present time. The usages connected with changes of surname amongst ecclesiastics and religious men present a subject of curious investigation, to which attention was formerly invited in this Journal⁸ as illustrated by a remarkable bond by the Abbot and Convent of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. It may here suffice to advert to the statement there cited from Mr. Markland's valuable *Remarks on Surnames*, published in the *Archæologia*, that it was a fashion, as we are informed by an old writer of authority, "from a learned spirituall man to take awaie the father's surname (were it never so worshipful or ancient) and give him for it the name of the town he was born in."⁹

In regard to the birth-place of the Archbishop—"Londoniensis urbis indigena"—as he is called by Brompton, there appears to be no controversy. The dwelling of Gilbert Becket and his wife Roesa was on the North side of Cheapside, near the East end. There, as the Dean of Chichester and other historians inform us, Thomas was born in 1118. It would probably now be in vain to inquire at what precise period he assumed, in accordance with an usage to which allusion has been made, the surname by which we find him designated on his privy-seal. The

⁵ *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by the Dean of Chichester, vol. ii. p. 356. "Ubi est Thomas Beketh?" was the shout of the murderers, as related by Edward Grim.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

⁷ *Becchet* or *Bequet*, in old French, signifies "a pike, also the name of a

sourish apple, good to be eaten raw.—Bequet de mer, a dainty, little, and long-nosed rock-fish, not very common." Cotgrave. See also Ducange v. *Becchetus*.

⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ix. p. 181. See also Ducange, ed. Henschel, v. *Nomina Mutari*.

⁹ *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 108.

chroniclers mention him familiarly as—"Thomas Londoniensis,"—or "de Londoniis."¹

It is to be regretted that the obverse of the seal appended to the sub-joined document should have perished, the moiety of the impression having unfortunately scaled off, probably through the insertion of the parchment label in the mass of wax. It is moreover singular that, so far as we are aware, impressions of the seal of Archbishop Thomas, if indeed any unquestionable example can be cited, are of extreme rarity. We are not aware that any impression has been found in the Golden Treasury at Canterbury, so rich in sphragistic treasures, especially in the series of the early Archiepiscopal Seals, of which we believe that the late Mr. Doubleday was permitted to take casts in plaster. A seal described as that of Thomas à Becket has been engraved for the Gentleman's Magazine. The seal placed before us by Mr. Urban is commended as the only portraiture extant of Thomas à Becket executed in his lifetime; it is observed that it "would be engraved on his first elevation to the archbishoprick in 1162."² It represents him standing, vested in the customary pontificals; the right hand is raised in the gesture of benediction, the left grasps a crosier formed, as in other early archiepiscopal seals, with a simple crook turned inwards towards the figure. The mitre is of the ancient fashion, as seen likewise on the seal of Becket's predecessor Theobald; the horns or *apices* are on the sides, not, as in the later form, at the front and back. The upper part of the mitre thus assumes a crescent shape in its outline. The legend is as follows:—
✠ SIGILLVM THOME DEI GRATIA ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTVARIENSIS. It is not stated where the impression is preserved.

Two seals here claim notice that are familiar to the Kentish collector as so-called seals of Archbishop Thomas. Of these one is unquestionably a reproduction, slightly altered, of that of Archbishop Theobald. On careful comparison of impressions from his seal it is evident that the legend only has been changed, the letters being placed at wider intervals, and thus SIGILLV: THEOBALDI: has been converted into SIGILLVM THOME. The letters thus supplied, as might be done with perfect facility in a plaster mould, are of larger size and unskilful execution as compared with the legend on the genuine seal of Theobald. In this supposed seal of

¹ Brompton writes of "*Thomas de Londoniis, Archidiaconus Cantuariensis*," X. Script. col. 1052. Gervas relates that on the accession of Henry II. at the instance of Archbishop Theobald, Becket, who held an office in his household, was appointed Chancellor. "Egit igitur apud regem ut statim in initio regni cancellariam concederet clerico suo *Thomæ Londoniensi*." Ibid. col. 1377. The reader who may desire to investigate more minutely these and other like details cannot fail to derive full satisfaction from the valuable Life of Dr. Hook, and the authorities there cited, p. 354, *ut supra*. See also the correspondence on the names of Archbishop Thomas, and various recent writers who have entered upon the subject, Gent. Mag., vol. ix.

N.S., pp. 163, 300, &c.

² Gent. Mag., Nov. 1848, vol. xxx., N.S., p. 494. This seal is said to be there engraved for the first time, and also a very interesting seal of the Chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge, commented shortly after his death, namely, in 1176. The chapel stood in the centre of the bridge. On the seal, which may be assigned to the early part of the twelfth century, a seated figure of the archbishop is introduced, placed between two tall candlesticks upon an arch. A river flows beneath, and one end of a boat appears as if shooting the arch. The legend is as follows: +SIGILL' BEATI THOME MARTIRIS D' PONTE LOND'.

Becket, the crosier has its head turned outwards, as on the prototype used by his predecessor. The length of this seal is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The second is a seal of rather larger dimensions than that last described, the length being about $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. The figure is well executed, the mitre is bifid, as on the example above described, the crosier has the crook turned inwards. The legend, with letters clumsily formed and irregular in size, reads thus:—✠ SIG · TOME · DEI · GRATIA · CANTUARIE · ARCHIEPISCOPIVS. There can be little doubt that this, and also that first described, are fictitious reproductions of other archiepiscopal seals. We believe that they are so regarded by Mr. Ready, in whose long tried experience we have the highest reliance, and who has devoted special attention to the Kentish series.

A. W.

Confirmation of the grant of the Church of Bexley, Kent, with other privileges, to the Priory of Christ Church, London (Public Records, Rolls House, 21, A. Box 47).

Tomas, Dei gratia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis, venerabilis fratri Waltero Rofensi Episcopo, et universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filii salutem. Quod ad multorum noticiam pervenire congruum duximus, litterarum monimentis commendare decrevimus. Noscat igitur præsens ætas et secutura posteritas, nos concessisse et præsentī carta confirmasse dilectis filiis nostris Canonicis Sanctæ Trinitatis, London', tam præsentibus quam futuris, ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Bixle, quiete habendam et perpetuo possidendam, quam bonæ memoriæ Willielmus prædecessor noster illis in elemosinam perpetuam contulit, et piæ recordationis Teobaldus successor illius, noster vero prædecessor, eisdem perpetuo concessit et confirmavit. Unde et nos quoque, memoratorum patrum sequentes vestigia, caritatis intuitu hanc eandem ecclesiam prædictis fratribus, sicut nostram propriam elemosinam, perpetuo confirmamus, et auctoritate qua fungimur corroboramus, cum terris ad eam pertinentibus, et decimis omnium rerum quæ decimari debent, et nominatim de pannagio, de porcis, et de denariis; et concedimus eis habere x. animalia in dominico herbagio nostro, et x. porcos in bosco nostro sine pannagio. Volumus itaque et præcipimus ut prædicti fratres hanc elemosinam nostram bene et in pace, libere, et quiete et honorifice teneant, sicut melius et quietius tenuerunt aliquo tempore; prohibentes ne ulli omnino hominum temere inde eos liceat perturbare, aut aliquibus vexationibus fatigare.

[L. S.]

Endorsed,—Bixle.

Sanctus Thomas Archiepiscopus de ecclesia de Bixle, et de x. animalibus in dominico herbagio, et de x. porcis, sine pannagio, et de decima pannagii.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

NOVEMBER 6, 1868.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN made some prefatory remarks in reference to the opening of the new session. The annual meeting at Lancaster had been very successful in every way. There had been good memoirs brought before the sections, good excursions, and a good attendance. The cordial and graceful hospitalities which had been most handsomely extended to the visitors at the Lancaster meeting had contributed much to the success of that gathering, and had associated it with most pleasurable recollections to those present on the occasion.

During the recess, the question of the conservation of one of the ancient gates of Tenby had again engaged the attention of the officers of the Institute; the subject was still under consideration. It was the opinion of a large number of the residents in Tenby that the gate could be preserved, with due regard to the improvement of the town and the property surrounding it. The Council of the Institute were quite of that opinion, and Dr. Rock trusted that the knowledge of the fact would strengthen the hands of the inhabitants of Tenby who wished to preserve so worthy a relic of the fortifications of their ancient town.

There had been a change, Canon Rock observed, in the constitution of the Institute which would, he hoped, be the means of extending the influence and advantages of the Society. He alluded to the admission of members of kindred societies as "Associated Members," on the payment of half the usual subscription. By this arrangement the monthly meetings could be attended during the session, and the library of the Institute used by such members. He hoped that this privilege would be largely turned to account; at the same time ordinary members would be very welcome, and the opening of a new session was a favourable opportunity for any accessions to their list.

At Lancaster the choice of a place for the next year's meeting was referred to the Council; and very lately Bury St. Edmunds had been fixed upon as the scene of the gathering for 1869. Good promises of support had been given to a meeting there, of which it was confidently hoped that the Marquis of Bristol would accept the presidency.

Canon Rock regretted that he must conclude with a reference to a melancholy event. Since the Institute had last met in those rooms one of their best friends and supporters had died, Mr. Felix Slade. He had long been known as one of the most generous and distinguished promoters of the science of Archæology, and he had acted up most fully to that feeling in the liberal bequests that he had made to the National

Depository of the precious collections that he had formed with great skill and taste. Besides the munificent endowment that he had devised for the promotion of the Fine Arts, their departed friend, Canon Rock observed, had shewn with very kind consideration his cordial sympathy in the special pursuits of Archæologists and of the members of the Institute, with which he had for some years been associated. Mr. Slade had borne the Society in friendly remembrance, as evinced by a bequest of one hundred pounds in furtherance of its efforts for the study and preservation of National Monuments. He had also bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries a gratifying mark of the like friendly interest.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, B.C.L., then read a memoir "On the Painted Glass in Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, and its claim to be considered the work of Albert Dürer." This has been printed in this Journal, vol. xxv., p. 119.

Mr. J. G. WALLER followed, expressing his entire acquiescence in all Mr. Russell's criticisms; and detailed the result of his own recent examination of the windows. Upon many points of artistic detail, to which he referred, he could not consider those windows to be the work of Dürer.

Some notes by Mr. Westlake, taking somewhat similar ground to Mr. Waller, and entirely supporting Mr. Russell's views, were read.

Mr. H. F. HOLT, in reply, admitted the reference to the Fairford windows by literary men, but still considered them to have been greatly neglected in the interests of Art, and his reproach was meant for Art critics. After all that had been said, the matter was still in utter darkness. If Albert Dürer did not execute the Fairford windows, he might ask "Who did?" No one else had been named. As to those windows not being good enough for Dürer, it was not fair to compare them with others of his works so different in every respect; as well might we compare Stanfield's scenes at the theatre with the last production of his easel. Reverting to the personal history of Dürer, Mr. Holt maintained that he was apprenticed to Wohlgemuth to learn wood-cutting and not Art. Artists were not apprenticed. He maintained that the colophon of the Nuremberg Chronicle was not inconsistent with Dürer's claim to the most important portion of its illustrations. In 1494 Dürer signed himself "Mahler." Of what? No picture of his was known till 1506; wood engraving was a trade, not an Art. Twenty years of his life were to be accounted for, during which he styled himself "artist." He had been entered among the glass-painters of the period, and he must have denoted by his signature that he was an artist in glass-painting. As regarded the technical artistic details, he did not stand alone in his opinion that they were quite consistent with Dürer's style and manner. As to the windows themselves, they might have reached this country through the wealthy Flemish merchants and money-lenders, the Fugger family, who were great patrons of Dürer. Both the Dantzic and Beaune pictures Mr. Holt considered suspicious, and nothing he had heard that evening had shaken his conviction that the Fairford windows were actually works of Albert Dürer.

Mr. EDMUND OLDFIELD, F.S.A., drew attention to two engravings, which he exhibited, of saints from Dürer's known works at Munich. He thought that there was nothing in keeping between them and any of the drawings on the Fairford glass. The architecture of the Fairford glass was certainly more English than foreign.

Professor WESTMACOTT, R.A., would slightly touch upon the Art view of the subject. The comparison instituted by Mr. Holt with the Stanfield pictures was unfortunate, as any artistic eye could detect the same hand, both in his scenery and in his easel pictures. From a careful examination of the Fairford windows, he felt convinced that they could not be the work of Albert Dürer.

Mr. TALBOT BURY, F.S.A., observed, that if Albert Dürer designed the Fairford windows, he must have had a prophetic eye to the architecture that would at a future time flourish in certain continental countries. At that time the architectural decoration exhibited in the Fairford glass was peculiar to England.

The CHAIRMAN made some remarks upon the arguments that had been adduced, introducing references to his own artistic experiences. He considered the result of the discussion very conclusive against Dürer's claim to be the artist of the Fairford windows. Thanks were due to Mr. Fuller Russell for his valuable memoir, and to Mr. Holt also for his fair and straight-forward reply.

The discussion was continued to such a length that no other subject was brought forward. The consideration of various objects referred to in the programme was adjourned to the next meeting.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. THOMAS PARADISE.—A photograph of a Saxon urn of unusual type, found in the parish of St. George, just outside the town of Stamford, in a cutting for the Stamford and Essendine railway. It lay at a depth of 4 ft., near the Uffington road. The "navy" by whom it was brought to light hastened to throw out the contents, consisting, as stated, of clay and a little mould; his expectation of finding coin was disappointed; and it does not appear that any bones or other relics were found in the urn. It has been presented to the Marchioness of Exeter, and is now at Burghley House. The urn (here figured) measures in



Saxon Urn, found at Stamford. Height, 6½ in. : diameter, 6½ in.

height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter nearly 7 in. It is of the usual dark-colored ware of the period. In the general form it resembles many of the Anglo-Saxon vases disinterred in Gloucestershire by Mr. Wylie, also at Wilbraham and Linton, Cambridgeshire, by the late Lord Braybrooke, and elsewhere. The peculiarity in its fashion consists in the ornamentation in zigzag, or diagonal arrangement, with intervening rows of impressed markings, likewise in diagonal directions. There are also two rows of the like markings, of three distinct patterns, around the neck and shoulder of the urn. The pottery of the period has mostly ribs or bosses, sometimes in considerable relief, but in parallel or vertical arrangement, all around the body of the urn.¹

Shortly after the discovery of the urn above described, some remains of an earlier period were brought to light near Stamford, in ploughing. A huge block of stone, as it was supposed to be, had impeded the progress of the plough. The laborers proceeded to dig around and dislodge it; when drawn to the surface by the aid of horses, the block proved to be a coffin containing two skeletons and a quantity of pottery; most of the bones crumbled to dust when exposed to the air. Unfortunately the massive coffin was emptied of its contents. Dr. Newman, M.D., of Stamford, having examined the bones, said to have been in part removed from the coffin, and in part to have been found on the north side of and parallel to it, reported that there was evidence of the existence of three adult skeletons. The bones are human, with the exception of two or three fragments that would seem to be those of a large dog. One, a large skull, is probably that of an adult man; it is said to have been found at the west end of the coffin, which had been deposited east and west. This skull shows traces of burning. A small skull found in the coffin, at the east end, is that of an adult female. The discovery of several iron nails near the third skull suggests that the corpse had been enclosed in a coffin of wood. In the stone coffin, fragments of about a dozen small vessels were found, also portions of a glass *ampulla* or "lachrymatory;" these determine the period to which the interments belong; the earthen vessels appear to be from the potteries at Castor, the *Durobrivæ* of the Romans. The pottery, glass, a bone pin, &c., will be preserved, as Mr. Paradise stated, in the Museum of the Stamford Institution. The site of the deposit is about half a mile from the Ermine Street.

On a subsequent occasion the same obliging correspondent communicated the discovery of some further remains close to the spot where the Anglo-Saxon urn had been disinterred, and supposed to be of the same period. They included fragments of pottery, an iron spear, a skull of a middle-aged man, with the teeth in perfect condition, human bones, &c. Dr. Newman considered the cranium to be of the elongated type of the Teutonic race, differing from the rounder Celtic skull. He noticed also a molar tooth of some herbivorous animal, and a bone of some species of deer. The pottery consisted of portions of three vessels, one of them of red ware ornamented with lines, the other two of stone-coloured ware.

The urns of the Anglo-Saxon period present remarkable variety, both in form and ornamentation. A few very peculiar examples have been brought to light, amongst which that now figured claims attention, on

¹ Some Saxon remains have been found near Stamford, at Castle Pytham. See Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*.

account of the unique fashion of its diagonally-arranged decoration. A still more unusual example has been figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 159 : it was found at Kempston, Bedfordshire, with unburnt skeletons, an iron *umbo*, and other relics of the usual types. This urn is formed with deep semicircular flutings from the shoulder to the bottom ; a variety in form of which no other example has been noticed ; at the bottom a piece of glass about the size of a shilling was inserted whilst the clay was moist. The late Mr. Kemble described also an urn found near the Elbe, having two pieces of green glass inserted, one in the bottom, the other like a window in the wall of the vessel.

By Mr. EDMUND OLDFIELD, F.S.A.—Two engravings of productions by Albert Dürer preserved at Munich, and representing saints. They present well-characterised exemplifications of the style of design that prevails in the undoubted works of that great artist.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, B.D., F.S.A.—Several choice examples of Art, of the age of Dürer, and illustrative of Mr. Russell's observations on the conjectural attribution of the painted glass in Fairford Church to that master.

By Major-General J. H. LEFROY, R.A.—A collection of helmets called "*Salades*," lately obtained for the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich, from the Turkish Arsenal at Rhodes.—A memoir prepared by Mr. Hewitt in relation to these highly curious relics of the knights of Rhodes in the fifteenth century was unavoidably deferred. It has been printed in this volume, p. 20, *ante*.

Archæological Intelligence.

A very remarkable Roman relic has been found in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire ; it is a legionary tablet of unusually large dimensions and perfect preservation. At each end there is a bas-relief, the one representing a horseman careering over the slain and wounded Britons, the other is a sacrificial scene. The tablet is of special value as proving that the Wall of Antonine extended to the Forth. Photographs that admirably reproduce the details of the sculpture may be obtained from Mr. Waldie, Linlithgow. Price 2s., or on a smaller scale, 1s., post free.

We announce with pleasure the promise of a volume of English Charters by Mr. Thorpe. Part II., the Topographical portion, of the "Diplomatarium Anglicum" will, together with the first volume published in 1865, comprise the charters of the pre-Normanic period. To the county-historian, the church-historian, and the archæologist, this collection cannot fail to be valuable. Each volume of the series will be complete in itself, the whole being arranged in separate counties. The first, now ready for press, will comprise the Topographical Charters of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex, and Herts. Subscribers' names are received by Mr. J. R. Smith, 36, Soho Square. Subscription price one guinea.

Mr. EDMUND B. FERREY proposes to publish (by subscription 10s. 6d.) a volume in illustration of South Wingfield Manor, one of the most picturesque relics of its class in Derbyshire. It was built, as supposed, by Lord Cromwell, Lord Treasurer in the reign of Henry VI.; and it may be described as of the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular. The romantic interest of the Manor is enhanced by the fact that it was for several years the prison of Mary Stuart. Subscribers' names may be addressed to the author, 1, Trinity Place, Charing Cross.

In the last issue of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, on the completion of the sixth volume of that inestimable contribution to archæological literature, Mr. ROACH SMITH made known his intention to print memoirs of the late eminent antiquary and draftsman, Fairholt, by whose tasteful pencil his works had been admirably illustrated. The volume will form an indispensable complement to the "*Collectanea*." The proposed subscription is 20s. Names of subscribers should be addressed, without delay, to Mr. Roach Smith, Temple Place, Strood, by Rochester. The impression is strictly limited to subscribers.

A volume of considerable interest in regard to the marches of Wales is in preparation by the Rev. C. J. ROBINSON, Vicar of Norton Canon, Weobley, entitled *History of the Castles of Herefordshire and their Lords*. It will include the castles of Brampton Bryan, Bransill, Clifford, Goodrich, Hereford, Kilpeck, Penyard, Weobley, Wigmore, &c. Subscribers' names are received by the author, or by Messrs. Head and Hull, Hereford. The work will form one volume demy 4to, with 25 engravings. Price (to subscribers,) 20s.

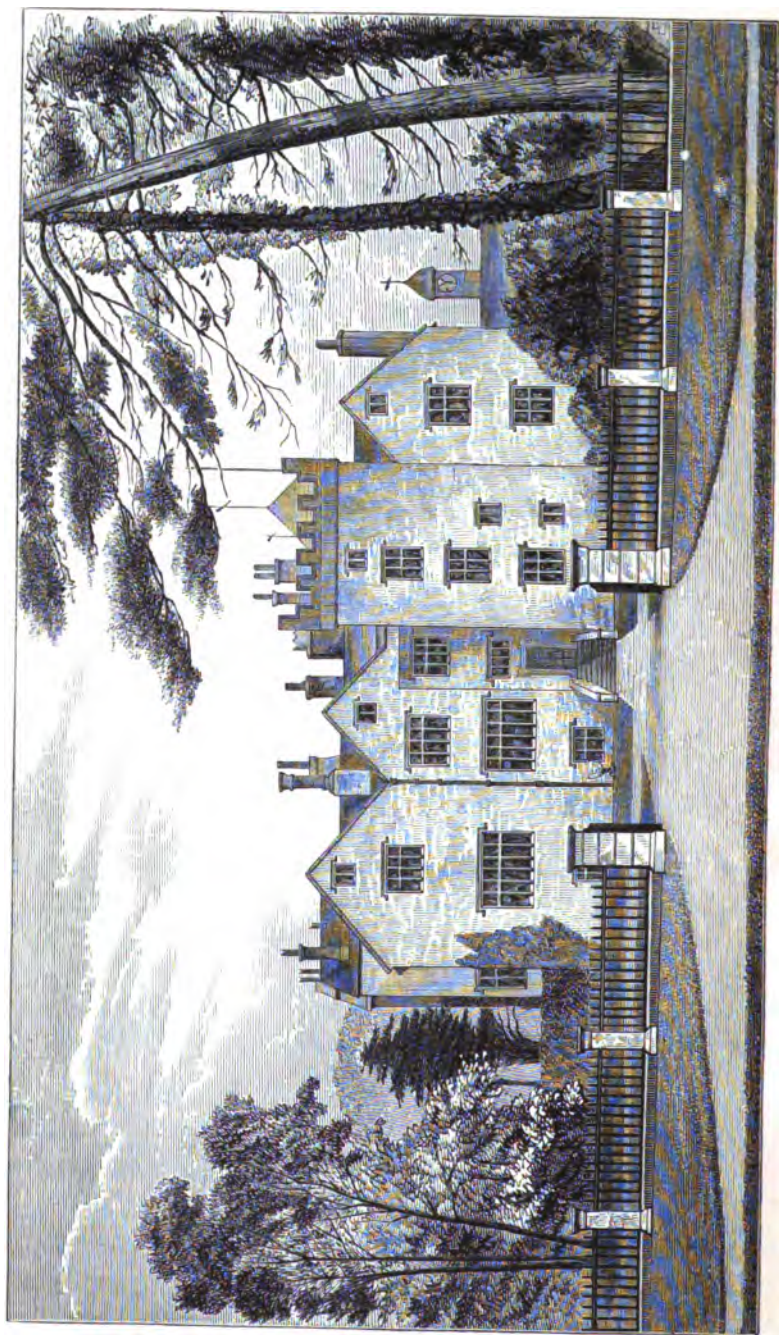
On a former occasion we invited notice to the contributions toward a

parochial History of Cornwall, in course of preparation by Mr. JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A. Part I., containing the Parish of Blisland, in the Deanery of Trigg Minor, has been issued to the subscribers, price 7s. Part II., the History of the Parish and Borough of Bodmin, is ready for the press. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Nichols, Parliament Street; or by the Author, Pallingswick Lodge, Hammersmith. The work is amply illustrated. Each parish may be obtained separately.

The Annual Meeting of the CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION will be held at Bridgend, commencing on August 9th. The Earl of Dunraven will preside on the occasion.

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In the Memoir on Bronze Celtic Relics, at page 62, *ante*, two objects contributed by the Rev. G. F. Weston are described as found at "Graben," in Westmorland. The name of the place should be Graber.



Levens Hall, Westmoreland,—Entrance and North front. From a drawing by the Rev. G. F. Weston, M. A.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1869.

LEVENS HALL, WESTMORELAND.¹

By the REV. G. F. WESTON, M.A., Vicar of Crosby Ravensworth.

THE origin of the word "Levens" I have been unable with certainty to determine. In the Domesday Survey, it is spelled "Lefuenes." Now *lefe* and *leve* being the Anglo-Saxon for *leaf*, making in the plural *leven*, it has been suggested that the word having a final *s* added as a reduplication of the plural, simply means *leaves*; and that to a district abounding in trees, there was an obvious appropriateness in the name. But, apart from the want of distinctiveness in such an appellation, it by no means follows that trees, though they abound in the neighbourhood of the house now, were equally abundant centuries ago; or, at any rate, that the extensive tract of country comprising the original manor was so remarkable for its growth of timber, or its woods, as to obtain from that circumstance its peculiar name. On the contrary, a great portion of the manor must have been fen-land, and, therefore, destitute of timber.

And it seems to me highly probable, that it was this tract of flat fenny land, on the edge of which the Hall stands, that gave rise to the name; and that in one of three ways:—

Leven, a word still retained in Scotland, denotes an open space lying between woods; and having the same origin as the word *level*, may be applied to such tracts either from the wood once upon them having been *levelled*, as *field* denotes an open space of pasture or cultivable land on which the wood has been *felled*. Or else the word may be applied

¹ Communicated to the Architectural Section at the annual meeting of the Institute at Lancaster, July, 1868.

to such tracts on account of their general flat, level character, and they would be called *The Levens*, or *The Levels*, in the same way that such tracts in other parts of England—for instance, in the flat fenny districts of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, are frequently called *The Flats*. Or the word Levins (and this is an ancient way of spelling the name of the house), derived from the Anglo-Saxon *leg*, *legen* (as *wave* from *wæg*), signifies lightning, flames—"his burning levin-brand in hand he took,"—and may have been applied to this tract from the peat which forms its soil being used for fuel. Or, thirdly (but this I think the least likely of the three), may Levens be a corruption of the Norman-French, which still lingers in so many names, and mean the Manor of *Le-fens*?

One derivation we may, I think, certainly discard, though it has the prestige of antiquity, and served to give to the knightly owners of the manor, the family of "De Levins," in the thirteenth century, as their heraldic badge, a slip of vine, namely, that which would imply the existence of extensive vineyards in this district. It is true that many parts of England were, centuries ago, cultivated as vineyards; and it is true that a former steward of this manor, one James Loftus, writing to his master, Colonel Grahme, in 1701, says, "bemunt" (Beaumont, the gardener) "bids me tell you that grapes ripens very well here;" still I do not think the climate of Westmoreland can have been then so far different from what it is now, as to render any extensive cultivation of the vine possible in this district.

However, leaving the origin of the name of the manor, we may proceed to its history.

Referring to the excellent county history of Nicholson and Burn, we find that Levens, at the time of the Conquest, or soon after, was part of the possessions of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland; and that, at the time of the Domesday Survey it belonged to Roger of Poitou. In the 34th year of Henry II., Ketel, who then owned the manor, sold off one moiety of it, viz., that with which we are at present concerned, and which afterwards became known as Upper or Over Levens, to Henry, son of Norman de Redeman; and in the possession of the Redeman family it continued for rather more than three hundred years. The other half of the manor passed from Ketel, or his immediate successors,

into the hands of a family of note of the name of De Levins, some of whom are expressly styled, of "Levins Hall." This would seem to imply that the original manor-house, or hall, was situate in this half of the estate ; indeed it would be but natural that the owner, on parting with a portion of his property, would retain that containing his own residence. However, from the first-division of the manor, the two moieties remained distinct, and became known as Upper, or Over Levens, and Nether, or Under Levens, each having its own hall, or manorial residence.

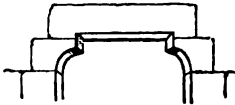
Of the two, I should be inclined to think that the Upper, or Over Levens,—the one with which we have now to do,—became also the upper in point of consequence. In what remains of Nether Levens Hall, the chief, if not the only architectural feature worthy of note is a good four-lighted window (but not an oriel) in the dining-hall, of the end of the reign of Henry VII. or the beginning of that of Henry VIII. ; further, its rooms are smaller, and their decorations inferior in character to those of this Levens, which, if I am right in regarding the main plan of the existing building as dating considerably beyond Henry VII.'s reign, must, from the size of its hall and other rooms, have belonged to a family of great wealth and importance. Such, indeed, we know the family of the Redemans to have been, and this was the residence of the principal family of that name. One Henry de Redeman, probably the purchaser of the estate in the time of Henry II., was Seneschal of Kendal. In the reign of Henry III., Matthew de Redeman was also Seneschal of Kendal ; and in subsequent reigns others of the family were representatives of the county of Westmoreland in Parliament.

It passed out of the possession of this family by purchase into that of the Bellinghams of Burneside, near Kendal, some time towards the end of the fifteenth century ; and, after remaining in their possession about two centuries, it was purchased by Colonel James Grahme, Privy Purse to King James II., younger brother of Sir Richard Grahme of Netherby, in the possession of whose descendants it has continued ever since.

It has thus, during the last seven hundred years, been in the hands of three families—the Redemans, the Bellinghams, and Colonel Grahme and his descendants ; of each set of

possessors traces may be discovered in the old building. The work of the Bellinghams is of course very apparent—so apparent, indeed, as to give one the impression of the entire building being an erection of the Elizabethan period. There are traces, however, of what I feel sure is a much older building, carrying us back to the occupancy of the Redemans.

The traces I allude to are, two pointed doorways at the foot of the tower on the north side of the building, and two other doorways in a vaulted cellar below the drawing-room, of a peculiar construction which originated in the thirteenth century, to which I believe the name of square trefoil-headed has been given. (See woodcut.) It is the existence of this cellar that convinces me that this building was originally one of the Pele Towers of this district—such being one of their invariable features.² See the ground-plans at the



close of this memoir.

These pele towers were the usual fortified manor-houses of the Border Country. They consisted of a hall, some thirty, forty, or fifty feet long, by about half the breadth; the floor raised but little, if at all, above the level of the ground outside; the lofty roof, open to view, of massive oaken timber, more or less ornamental in its construction. The chief entrance to the building from without was in the side of the hall, nearly at one end of it, which was sometimes protected by a tower as seems to have been the case here. Immediately opposite to this door, on the other side of the hall was another door opening into a court-yard in the rear. These two doors were screened off from the hall by a strong oaken partition extending across it, ten or twelve feet high, often beautifully carved, so placed as to form between it and the end wall a sufficiently spacious passage. In this end wall were entrances to the kitchen, the buttery, and other offices. At the other end of the hall was the dais, a raised floor of one step, extending the entire breadth of the chamber, where was placed the long table, at the higher side of which the lord and his family and any distinguished guests took their

² The doorways in this and the adjoining vaulted cellars are marked in the accompanying ground-plan (No. 1) and

indicated by the letters *a* to *e*. The doorway, *f*, has been broken through at some comparatively recent time.

meals ; while guests of inferior rank were seated, with the retainers, at tables ranging either along each side or down the centre of the room. The hall was also used for the transaction of all matters of business between the lord and his vassals. In it he held his royalty court or court baron, receiving their suit and service, and administering justice according to the powers granted to him by the Crown.

Adjoining the dais end of the hall was a very strongly built tower, rising two, three, or four storeys in height. The basement of this tower was always a massively-constructed vaulted cellar, with very thick walls, lighted by small iron-barred windows. The hall communicated with the tower by an arched stone doorway, closed, first by a massive oak door, and then, for further protection, by a second door of crossed iron bars framed together. This doorway also gave access to a stone spiral staircase formed in one angle of the cellar wall, going up the entire height of the tower, by which the chambers in its successive storeys were reached. The first chamber, called the Lord's Solar, was the bed-chamber of the master and mistress of the house, but, being of considerable size—sometimes five-and-thirty feet by twenty—was also used as a withdrawing-room for the family, after the evening meal, when the retainers, who had shared the meal at a lower table in the hall, prepared to pass the night enwrapped in quilts spread upon the rush-strewn floor. Above this chamber was another, which formed one or more sleeping rooms for other members of the family. Above all was the flat-leaded roof, protected by an embattled parapet. This tower formed the stronghold, or keep, of the dwelling. In the event of the outer fortifications being stormed, and even the hall gained by an enemy, the family and many of the retainers would find here a place of safety, where, shut in by the oaken and iron doors at the foot of the stairs, secure against fire and almost every other means of attack, and with access to the well-stored cellar, they might hold out for a considerable time—perhaps till relief arrived from some friendly neighbour. The roof, commanding a distant view of the country, and from which, in the first instance, the approach of danger had probably been detected, afforded them, when thus besieged, a widely-seen position for signals of distress ; and from behind the shelter of its battlements

much loss and annoyance might be inflicted on the baffled foe by a few skilful marksmen.

Many specimens of the pele tower in this its early state are to be found in Westmoreland, and Kentmere Hall, the seat of the Gilpins, at the head of the valley of the Kent, may be mentioned as a good example.

Such a building I believe this Hall of Levens to have been ; and its main features, in spite of all subsequent alterations, are, I think, discoverable.

The present entrance hall was the hall of the early stronghold, as regards at least its four walls. Its floor was, probably, on a level with the ground outside, instead of being elevated as now ; and above, instead of its present highly-wrought plaster ceiling, the massive oaken timber-work of its roof would be open to view. Then in lieu of the present fireplace in the east wall, to warm the hall a huge fire of logs burnt, probably in the centre of the floor, the smoke from which would find its exit through an open lantern in the roof. The entrance would be in the west wall, probably in the part now covered by the tower, which may subsequently, though still in ancient times, have been erected as a protection to it. The existing entrance, and also the spacious oaken staircase, are part of the alterations made by Colonel Grahme at the end of the seventeenth century.

The kitchens and other offices were, I think, at the end where now we have the dining-room ; such being the usual position for them ; and I have been told of traces of buildings having been discovered in the garden at this end of the house, with indications, if I remember rightly, of their having been destroyed by fire ; these may perhaps have been the foundations of those portions of the hall in its most ancient state.

At the other, that is, the east end of the hall, we find the vaulted cellar, which always formed the basement chamber of the tower. It is altogether about 40 feet long by $17\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ high at the crown of the arch ; but it is divided into two by a cross wall in which is one of the square trefoil-headed doors I have before alluded to. There are thus two cellars, an outer and an inner one : the former, which is the smaller, about $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 10 ; the latter $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 23. The outer and smaller cellar were entered from without through two doorways, the

outer one in a projection now forming the basement of the bay-window in the drawing-room; the inner in the massive wall of the cellar itself, at the distance of about six feet. This latter is another of the square trefoil-headed doors of which I have spoken. The spiral stone staircase so invariably found in these towers is certainly wanting; but I think the end wall of the tower, in which it would have been found, was taken down in order to elongate the drawing-room, or rather to add the library, during the occupation of the Bellinghams, and that the massive oak staircase, which is certainly of that period, was substituted for it, very nearly in the same position, as a more commodious means of access to the upper rooms. See the plans at the close of this memoir.

Such, then, would seem to be the traces of the building existing in the time of the Redemans, who, as I have said, resided here from about 1200 to 1500; and these traces we may perhaps refer back to the fourteenth century.

We now come to its occupation under its next owners—the Bellingham family.

Some time about the year 1500 it was purchased by one Alan Bellingham, who was the eighth son of Sir Robert Bellingham of Burneshead or Burneside Hall, another interesting tower-house a short distance on the north side of Kendal. This family sprang from Bellingham in Tynedale, Northumberland, where they had considerable possessions at a very early period, and drew their descent from one Alan de Bellingham of Bellingham, in the time of William the Conqueror. They became connected with Westmoreland in the reign of Edward I., when one Richard de Bellingham married Margaret, the only daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Burneshead, and through that marriage became possessed of the manor and settled there. The father of the said Richard, William de Bellingham, judging from a curious old document still in existence,—a Record of the Justices Itinerant of King Alexander III. of the Pleas at Wark, in the thirty-first year of that king's reign,—would seem to have been a man of great power and influence, and, from the perpetual feuds in which he was engaged, sometimes with the smaller landowners, sometimes with the powerful ecclesiastical dignitaries of Hexham and Jedburgh, to have been fond of using his power and influence to the annoyance of his neighbours. Among the many disputes in which he was

involved was one with the neighbouring family of Charlton, respecting the pasture of Hesleyside, which was decided against him, the jury giving their verdict in favour of the Charltons, in the possession of which family it has continued ever since. His claim, too, to the whole of the manor of Bellingham would seem not to have been clear, two parts of it having once belonged to the ancient demesne of the king. Being summoned to make answer to the king touching this, he replies that his ancestors had held the manor in question, with all the appurtenances, from time immemorial, under the predecessors of the King of Scotland, by the service of being the foresters of the king throughout all his forests in Tynedale—Tynedale having been granted to William the Lion, to be held in homage of the King of England,—but that he “declined to litigate with his lord the king, and submitted the plea to his grace.”

The Chantry Chapel of St. Catherine, in the very curious stone-roofed church of Bellingham in Northumberland, was probably founded by this powerful family. Of their baronial stronghold nothing now remains, except perhaps its site be just indicated by an artificial mound on the east side of the Hareshaw-Burn, at no great distance from the Mill, which the De Bellinghams are known to have held of the Scottish king, paying for it, in 1263, the large rent for those times of ten pounds sterling.

The family has now altogether disappeared from the county where they were once so powerful. When they parted with the last of their possessions is hardly known; but it appears that certain quit-rents continued to be paid to a representative of the family for land in North Tynedale down to as late a period as 1774.

But whatever the fortunes of the Northumberland family, an important branch of it became established in Westmoreland through the Richard de Bellingham, who settled at Burneshead. He was succeeded in the occupancy of the manor by his son Robert, his grandson Richard, and then by his great-grandson Robert. Under this last Robert the family rose to increased distinction. He received the honour of knighthood, and in the 10th Henry V. was one of the jurors on the inquisition post mortem of John de Clifford, one of the noble family of the Westmoreland Cliffords, who was killed at the siege of Meaux in France in 1422. He married Elizabeth,

daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall of Thurland in the county of Lancaster, and by her had eight sons, several of whom became founders of distinguished branches of the family in different parts of the country. From Richard, the second son, descended the Bellinghams of Lincolnshire; from Thomas, the fourth son, the Bellinghams of Sussex and Surrey; from Alan, the eighth son, the Bellinghams of Helsington and Levens, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Gilpin of Kentmere.

This Alan must by some means have acquired very considerable wealth, for, though the youngest of a numerous family, we read of him as the purchaser of large estates in this county,—Levens, Helsington, Gaythorne, and Fawcett Forest, besides divers lordships in Lancashire and Northumberland. He was Treasurer of Berwick and Deputy-Warden of the Marches; and he received from Henry VIII., in the last year of his reign, a grant of the fourth part of the barony of Kendal, called the Lumley Fee. Of him, in allusion to his social and, at the same time, martial disposition, was made the rhyme, still to be seen on the windows of Levens,—

“Amicus, Amico, Alanus,
Belliger, Belligero, Bellinghamus.”

His residence, however, when in Westmoreland does not seem to have been at Levens, but at Helsington. Possibly the house at Levens may have gone somewhat to decay, for the later members of the Redeman family seem to have been in no way distinguished in the county, as their ancestors had been, and perhaps had ceased to reside at it. Certain it is that it was purchased by Alan Bellingham of one of the Redeman family, who is described as “of Thornton near Eggleston in Yorkshire.”

The immediate successors of Alan Bellingham, viz., his son Thomas, and his grandson, a second Alan Bellingham, continued to reside at Helsington. Under the latter the family possessions do not seem to have diminished, for by an inquisition after his death in 1577, it was found that he was seised of the manors of Over Staveley, Nether Staveley, Hugill, Sadgill, Fairbank, Grasmere, Langdon, Potter Fell, Vowflatt, Ulthwaite, Rutherhead, Sabergh, Crookfell, Westwood, and Roger Holme, an island on Windermere, with fishery in the waters of Windermere, Skeggeswater, and

Grasmere. He was buried in Kendal Church, as others of his family had been, and a brass, recording his name with those of his two wives and of his children, may still there be seen. He was succeeded in his possessions by his son James, who was knighted by King James at Durham on the occasion of his first coming into England in 1603, and who would appear to have been previously one of the chief gentlemen of the county, for in the year 1593 his name occurs, together with that of Thomas Strickland (the only two of the gentlemen of Westmoreland) in a reply given to Lord Scrope, Warden of the Western Marches, on his asking advice from the gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmoreland on divers points affecting the public weal, among others,—“What courses were most meet to be taken for good order among the surname of the Grames,” who “had no commander under the Lord Warden,” and had rendered themselves obnoxious by their lawless proceedings. These gentlemen advised the Lord Warden that he should “regard himself as standing officer over the turbulent clan until one should be specially appointed, and that they ought to be held obedient to his lordship or summarily dealt with in default.” It would appear, however, that notwithstanding promises to the contrary, the Grames still continued to give trouble, for in 1603 a proclamation was issued by James I. decreeing the “transplantation” of these Grames elsewhere, “to the intent that their lands may be inhabited by others of good and honest conversation,” and a tax was assessed and levied to meet the expense connected with such “transplantation,” which was actually carried out at a cost of nearly 400*l*. This was followed in 1614 by another proclamation for apprehending the Grames returned from “transplantation,” in which the king “strictly prohibits that none of the Grahmes hereafter do presume to return into our nation of England and Scotland out of Ireland, or the cautionary towns of the Low Countries whereunto some of them are sent, and are since returned to Ireland without special license.” I mention this because it is somewhat curious to find that one of this very clan of the Grahmes proscribed under James I.,—a Sir James Grahme, of whom we shall have to speak further presently, brother to the “Goodman of Netherby” (as the head of the house is styled in an enumeration of the different branches of the family),—should be holding the office of

Privy Purse to James II., and should be actually in possession of the estate owned by the Sir James Bellingham who, some eighty years before, had taken part in promoting the disgrace of the family.

To return, however, to this Sir James Bellingham. He it was who commenced and, in a great measure, carried out the extensive alterations which made the house in its main features what we now see it, and by which it became transformed from a grim Pele tower into a stately Elizabethan mansion. Those alterations can be traced without difficulty, and are identified as the work of Sir James, through the practice, which at this time became prevalent, of carving on some conspicuous place of a building the name or initials of the owner, together with the date of the completion of the work. Thus, on the carved oak chimney-piece of the dining-room we have his initials I. B. with the date 1586; also the same initials, with the date 1595, on the still handsomer oak chimney-piece of the drawing-room, showing the work of transformation to have extended over a number of years. Then on the stone fireplace of the servants' hall, in addition to the I. B., we have A. B., the initials no doubt of his wife Agnes, daughter of Sir Henry Curwen of Workington. This chimney-piece I take to have been originally the chimney-piece of the hall, and to have been removed here in the time of Sir James Grahme, who substituted for it the one now there (and inserted others of similar pattern in different rooms of the house), and who seems to have built up from the ground that angle of the house where what is called the servants' hall is situated. The same initials, I. B. A. with the date 1617, occur on a piece of oak carving, over the panelwork that extends across the south end of the hall, which it will be observed is of older date than the rest of the panelwork, probably of Henry VIII.'s time, and will be recognised as the old "screen" with its two doors of entry, and which must have been removed from its original position as a screen, probably by Sir James Bellingham, and placed against the end wall to increase the size of the chamber. There is a screen of very similar construction still *in situ* at Burneside Hall.

The alterations made by Sir James Bellingham are interesting as marking many features of domestic architecture characteristic of the period. The windows throughout the

building (with the exception of a few which are later) are insertions made at this time. These, it will be observed, are large and admit ample light. The comparatively peaceful state of the country rendered it unnecessary to study security and strength in this feature of a building so much as formerly : glass too was cheaper ; and stained glass, which had been hitherto used chiefly in the adornment of churches, was now introduced into the windows of domestic buildings as a means of adding to the beauty of their more important chambers. Previously to this period it had been no uncommon thing for windows to remain unglazed, wind and rain being excluded by wooden shutters ; and even after glass was used, it was frequently fitted into wooden casements, which were inserted into the stonework of the window while the lord was in residence, and were removed and carried along with him when he left, to do duty for his comfort in his next place of abode. Then further in the remodelling of the house at this period, there are other indications of the altered habits of living, arising out of the decline of the feudal system, and the consequent change in the relative positions of the lord and his retainers. The latter ceased to be serfs attached to their lord, and became labourers and workpeople, receiving wages and living with their families in their own separate dwellings. The lord's establishment, therefore, no longer comprised, in addition to personal attendants and servants discharging the menial offices of the house, the armourer, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the cooper, and so on, with their assistants, all living under his roof and eating at his cost. A numerous class of artisans had sprung up, working on their own account, and to them the handicraft work of the hall being intrusted, the lord's staff of dependents became reduced to pretty much the domestic servants of the present day.

Then the growth of wealth, incident to more peaceful times, led to habits of increasing refinement. The custom had been gradually coming on, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century had become general, for the lord and his family to dine apart from the retainers. This necessitated a separate chamber for that purpose. Then more ample and more commodious sleeping accommodation was called for. To meet these demands the grand old hall, in which lord and vassals had been wont to partake of their meals together, and which had been the sleeping quarters of the latter at

night, was generally sacrificed, and went far to provide the additional accommodation required. It was often divided up into three separate storeys by means of two floors, one placed about seven or eight feet from the ground, the other about double that distance from the first. On the ground level a range of servants' offices was thus obtained; above this was a handsome banquetting hall, and over this again, beneath the roof, a suite of bedrooms.

The banquetting room, though inferior in grandeur to the lofty open-timbered hall, was still a stately chamber; the same in area, if not made larger by the removal of the screen against the end wall, and with a ceiling of enriched plaster work placed at a sufficient height to give it a handsome proportion. The tapestry with which the old hall had been hung was removed for the adornment of other rooms more occupied by the family, and was replaced by oak panel-work to the height of eight or ten feet from the floor, the interval between it and the ceiling being made up with decoration in plaster. The banquetting hall at Levens is a good specimen of the transformation I have described. A floor was introduced into the old hall a few steps below the level of the Lord's Solar, leaving sufficient height for the servants' offices below. The second floor is so placed as to give to this handsome room sufficient loftiness in proportion to its length and breadth. The usual oak paneling lines the walls for about two-thirds of their height, having displaced the tapestry, which may yet be seen in other rooms of the house. The ceiling, and the wall space between it and the paneling, are enriched with elaborate plaster ornamentation picked out with gilding and colour; over the fireplace are thus represented the arms of Elizabeth, with the arms of the Bellinghams (argent three bugles or hunting-horns sable garnished and furnished or) on either side. A row of shields, filling compartments of the wall and beginning from the oriel window, show different alliances of the family. On the first shield are the arms of Bellingham, and Burnishead of Burnishead, united. These arms occur on the dexter half of the next three shields, while on the sinister are the arms of Gilpin of Kentmere (showing the marriage of Alan, the purchaser of Levens) and two others; on the fifth, sixth, and seventh shields these arms are displayed on the sinister half while other arms occupy the dexter; on the last three

shields they still occupy the sinister side, while the dexter remains vacant for the reception of other bearings as other alliances occurred. Among the minor devices on the ceilings and walls are the Tudor badge, the rose surmounted by a crown, the white and red roses of York and Lancaster united, and the bugle-horn of the Bellinghams. The stonework of the fireplace is of more recent insertion, and is probably part of further alterations made towards the end of another century by its then owner, Sir James Grahme. The original fireplace, as I have before said, may, I think, be seen in the servants' hall, a portion of the building certainly altered by him.

Whether the Bellingham entrance was where it now is, or, where it had previously been, through the entrance-tower, I cannot say. I am inclined to think the former was its position, though the stonework of the door is of more modern work, and would seem to be an insertion by Sir James Grahme.

The present drawing room was, I consider, the Lord's Solar, which served, we know, as the withdrawing room of ruder times; but it has been lengthened, and the Lady's Boudoir, now the Library, has been added. By this alteration the spiral stone stair which ought to have been found here has been removed, and in its place has been substituted the present more commodious oak staircase; the solid construction of which (each stair being a block of oak, since cased over) together with the form of the banisters, would point this out as being a portion of the Bellingham alterations. This staircase gives access, as the stone stair had done before, to the bedrooms over the Lord's Solar, which formed the upper storey of what, though hardly recognizable as such now, from the altered state of the roof, was once, I conceive, the main tower. At the other end of the hall, is a room which I take to be a part of the building of considerable antiquity. It is over a room which is entered by one of the pointed doorways spoken of before, as existing in the basement storey of the house, and which may go back to the 14th century. It is possible the ancient kitchens and other offices may have stood here, and that in the remodelling of the house, those now in use were substituted for them by Sir James Bellingham; and that I think probable. The room alluded to shows, in the panel-work over the fireplace, the

initials J. B., and the date 1586, and was, I think, appropriated by Sir James as the family dining room, when altered customs had rendered the banqueting room, which took the place of the old hall, needlessly large for ordinary use, and only suitable for the occasional grand entertainments of social hospitality. The stamped and gilded leather of old Spanish or Italian workmanship with which the walls of this room are covered, though put up not many years ago, did but replace a decoration of the same material (now to be seen in another part of the house) which was probably part of the original adornment of the room at the time of Sir James's alterations, showing it to have then been one of the choice rooms of the house; for this mode of decorating important rooms was one then of recent introduction, and much in favour. Adjoining this room at the East end is one which is called the "Chapel bedroom." Whether this apartment takes its name from occupying the site of a former domestic chapel, or from being contiguous to the recess in the hall beneath the principal staircase, which, having been expressly fitted up and continually used for family prayers, goes by the name of "the Chapel," I cannot say; but I am inclined to the former opinion, because, exactly in the same position, with an eastern direction, and immediately adjoining an important apartment as here, there is at Burneside Hall a chamber, which without any doubt was a chapel; and that house having been long the seat of the family it is not unreasonable to suppose that it would be taken as a sort of model for any reconstruction at Levens; as, indeed, it certainly was from many details of ornamentation to be found in both buildings. The same may also be said of Gaythorn Hall, one of the other purchases of the first Alan Bellingham, which was put in order either by him or one of his immediate successors, where similar details are found, and where also a domestic chapel existed. It may be remarked also in passing, that at Hel-sington Laithes, also purchased by the same Alan, and where he resided when in Westmoreland, there is a chamber having a handsome stone window which is still called "the Chapel." Whatever may have been the custom of the time, it would seem that this family considered a domestic chapel a necessary part of their residence. If this conjecture be correct, Sir James Grahme, who certainly altered this part of the house, must have converted the domestic chapel into a room,

and have made the substitute for it, beneath the staircase, which certainly was constructed by him. The access to the bedrooms above the dining room and the banqueting hall had previously been by the spiral stone stair in the entrance tower.

This certainly gave to them a more commodious approach; it is the most important, and indeed the only alteration worthy of notice as regards the house itself, which marks its change of ownership from the Bellingham family to Sir James Grahme.

This took place about the year 1690. The last of its Bellingham possessors was an Alan as its first had been; but, of a widely different character, he, by extravagance, dissipated the vast estate of which the first had laid the foundation, and which had been enjoyed with honour, and added to from time to time by successive generations of descendants.

Sir James Grahme who purchased Levens from him, together with all his Westmoreland possessions, was a younger brother of Sir Richard Grahme of Netherby, in Cumberland.³ He was privy purse to king James II. Bidding adieu to Court life, on the misfortunes of his royal master, he seems to have sought the retirement of the country, and to have purchased Levens as his place of future residence. And here he led for many years the life of a country gentleman, discharging its duties and maintaining its position not less worthily, it would seem, than so many of the former occupants of the house had done, for he was elected, as many of them had been, to represent the county in Parliament, and continued to have that honour conferred upon him on many successive elections.

Sir James married Dorothy, daughter of William Earl of Berkshire. The issue of that marriage was a son and a daughter. The latter, Catherine, inherited the property. She was married to her cousin, Henry Bowes Howard, Earl of Berkshire; and thus the illustrious name of Howard became connected, as it has since continued, with the place.

Additions to the building since Colonel Grahme's time comprise a suite of bedrooms over the Bellingham kitchens, and a long range of buildings at right angles to these, called

³ Sir Richard Grahme was created by Charles II., in 1681, Viscount Preston, in the Peerage of Scotland. He was ambassador to the court of France, and

appointed one of the principal secretaries of state in 1688. Douglas, Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 375.

the "White End," affording further bed-room accommodation, with a variety of offices beneath; the latest of all being the tower at the angle, which adds so much to the picturesque effect of the garden front of the house. This was erected under the good taste of the late Colonel the Hon. Fulke Greville Howard, a member of the Templetown family, of the Irish peerage, and husband of the present widely-loved and venerated owner, the Honourable Mary Greville Howard, for her especial use. From the windows of her little boudoir in it, and from the other rooms above, the most charming views are obtained of the quaint gardens to which Levens owes at least one half of its celebrity.

Of these gardens it remains, in conclusion, to speak. Forming, as they do, the chief work of Sir James Grahme, they serve as the real mark of its transfer from the second to the third great family of owners.

Doubtless the Elizabethan mansion of the Bellinghams had its pleasure, with its stiff parterres and terraced walks perfumed with roses and other old English flowers, as all country houses of the period had; but as these had displaced the courtyard, with its embattled wall of enclosure, and moat, and entrance gateway, forming the outer defences of the old Pele Tower of the Redemans,—so were these, in turn, displaced by the more extensive pleasure-grounds of the succeeding age, of which we have here a wonderfully perfect example, since there is evidence to show that in all their main features—and one might almost say even in their details—they have been handed down exactly as at first planned.

They were laid out by one Monsieur Beaumont, a Frenchman, whose portrait hangs in the entrance-tower, and who is thereon described as "gardener to King James II., and to Colonel James Grahme," and as having "laid out the gardens at Hampton Court Palace and at Levens."⁴

⁴ The inscription is as follows:—"Monsieur Beaumont, Gardener to King James 2nd and to Col^l Ja^s Grahme. He laid out the Gardens at Hampton Court and at Levens." It is singular that the merits of so skilful an artist should have been unnoticed by writers on Horticulture, and also that the part taken by him at Hampton Court has been ignored. The gardens there, as existing in 1691, are noticed in Gibson's account of Gardens near London,

Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 181. Lysons states that they were laid out in the reign of William III. by London and Wise, in the fashion then prevalent. *Environs of London*, vol. v. p. 72. Daines Barrington, in a treatise on the Progress of Gardening, mentions the gardens at Hampton Court, and seems to attribute their decoration to Queen Mary, who lived much there. He observes that the reign of James II. produced, probably, "no great alteration

The gardens are in the style called "topiary," from the "opus topiarium" of the Romans, a term applied by them to the trees and shrubs clipped into various fantastic shapes, either alone or in groups or extending in long lines, which form the chief feature of this kind of gardening. It was one in which the Romans—and when their taste was considered at its best—took great delight. It may have been borrowed by them from those garden-loving nations the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians; so at least one might conjecture from garden scenes on the walls of Egyptian tombs, and from descriptions of the hanging gardens of Babylon and Nineveh. But the fondness of the Romans for gardens in this style we know from many of their authors, who minutely describe them. Pliny, in particular, has given us an account in great detail of the gardens of his Tusculan villa, now Frascati, a portion of which was laid out in this style;—so minutely and so carefully, indeed, are all its details described, that his account has served to guide the laying out of all such gardens since the revival of classical learning, when it became the rage to reproduce, as far as any traces afforded the means, all the arts of Roman civilisation. These gardens were brought into vogue again in Italy by the Medici family, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and intercourse with Italy speedily led to their adoption in other countries. Francis I., in building Fontainebleau, laid out part of the gardens in this manner; but under Le Nôtre, who lived a little later, and who has been considered one of the ablest gardeners of any age, this style attained a degree of perfection fully equalling, if not excelling, anything described by Pliny. It was under his superintendence, and the lavish munificence of Louis XIV., that the gardens of

in the royal gardens, but his successor introduced or gave a vogue to clipped yews with magnificent gates," &c. *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 124. Switzer, an eminent gardener of that period, asserts that during the reign of William gardening arrived at its highest perfection. *Ichnographia Rustica*. See also London's *Encyclopædia of Gardening*, vol. i. p. 315. By Walpole, whilst keenly criticising the improvements by London and Wise, who "stocked our gardens with giants, animals, monsters, coats-of-arms and mottoes, in yew, box, and holly," Beaumont is not even named; we seek also in vain, in the supplementary

anecdotes, for any allusion to his works. Walpole's *Anecdotes*, edit. Dallaway, vol. iv. pp. 262, 290. Beaumont may have accompanied Grillet, the eminent assistant of Le Nôtre, when he was brought over in 1694 to complete the grand designs for the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Chesterfield. It must be admitted that no trace has been found of any work that can be ascribed to Beaumont as royal gardener in this country, in the short reign of James II., 1685-88, and that the "topiary" style, so admirably illustrated at Levens, does not appear to have been introduced before the time of his successor.

Versailles, St. Cloud, and St. Germain were laid out, the former at a cost of no less than two hundred millions of francs. From France the fashion passed over into this country ; and it is possible enough that King James II., when desirous of laying out his Hampton Court gardens in this style, would, from his intimacy with the French court, seek a competent man for his purpose from the great French master of the art, and that Beaumont, to whom the work was confided, was a pupil recommended for his proficiency. Known to Colonel Grahme whilst at court, he no doubt accepted employment under him when the misfortunes of their common master brought their respective engagements to a close ; and under his able superintendence the gardens of the Colonel's newly acquired property were planned and carried out.

There are some interesting and amusing scraps of information, connected with the work whilst in progress, to be gathered from letters still preserved, addressed to Colonel Grahme by persons in his employment, which may be worth quoting.

Thus, soon after a commencement had been made, in the autumn of 1701, a terrific storm seems to have raged, the effects of which are described in a letter by the steward, James Loftus, a shrewd, intelligent man, but a very bad speller, in this graphic manner : "I am very soury," he writes, "to send you this bad newes, but its such a thing as hath not bene in this countrey in no ag of man that is a liffe now at prasant. Wind and Raine. The wind hath blown down, in the parke, hallfe the best eash trees that is in the parke, and done a boundinance of harme in others, that is in blowing down littel birchers. Their is but one ocke tree, but it is a very good one and all shiffeard too bits, it stod upon the bank by Lady Cloase, some aeshers by it It hath done great damedg in the garden a mongst trees. bemun" (Mr. Loftus' phonetic rendering of Beaumont) "is very much disturbed about is trees, he wants stakess for them."

Great damage also was done to the park wall ; the "dear house" was blown off its "pillows ;" some windows of the house were broken, and "some holle lites blown out" and slates blown off. A great "dell of Laranes houses thack" was blown off : the "Peat Coat bethewett green" (Beathwaite Green) "was all down," and continued wet, so characteristic of a Westmoreland winter, impeded the progress of the work.

In February 1702, the 9th, the same correspondent writes, "We have had very bad wether, and wett the hole house in generall, beat and Raind in, and Espeshly on all your side the house, and the tower upon your sied." On the 6th of the same month, he writes—"the garden gos one as fast as the wether will give leive, the walls is not finished as yeatt, but will in a short time now. I will pris all I can to gett it finished. Your eveer fathfull and duty full sarvant, whilst I am, JAMES LOFTUS." On the 26th of the same month, we have:—"Yours the 19 I resaved, and yesterday one from Mr. Grahme, with some seeds in it for bemant, and he hath sown some of them last night. We begin to go forward a letell beter than we did, but the wether moist still." In spite, however, of unfavourable weather, "bemant" is reported to be very hard at work "trinching and digin, and putting all in order that is finished."

An untoward accident then occurs somewhat to retard the work. "The ould, brocken windid coach hors dyd this day comeing from Millthropp with a sacke of otes upon his back. We shall not know what to do in the garden for him, and the other all most killd weth contenually woarking." But matters look more cheerful in March. "Things are well," says the "fathfull" James Loftus. "Apriell the 12th, the hounds and horsse and the garden begins to look well now." Still his accounts give scarcely sufficient details to satisfy the interest taken by his master in the progress of the work. "Sir, I beg your pardon that I did not give you an account of the achorns and beach nots befor; they wear planted as soon as they came, and I thought it was not much mater to give every partickler of the garden, but beamant hath moved all that quarter that was mad last year. the moole of it into other quarters and borders that wanted, that is the quarter whear you say you will have the boulling green, and hath put all the borders in as good order as he cane, he is now mooving and altering his flowers and plants, and allso hath poulled down the heg was roun the melion ground and hath planted the helli bore round tha place, and he got very good staex coot and set round it, and hath raild and bound it very well, and made the carpenters cout out the stakes out of the hart of a good eish tree, and he hath sown pese, benes, and such things as those, now he is upon makeing his hot beds and leading doun into the garden whear it wants; he

hath made the hill something lesse then it was when you went, he keeps tuing at it. We have very litell frost to huld. Feb. 25, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$. James Loftus."

Another correspondent, one Timothy Banks, reports :—
"Mr. Beomant has planted and sowne all the ground that lyes against the new building which was set forth when you were here, and has planted the borders round, and has planted that part of the new plantation at the end next the chiz with greens and beech plants in so excellent order to everybody's admiration here that I am sure you will take great delight in it when you come ; and all along the end of the garding next Hershams he has planted two rows of chestnuts and lime trees, and amongst them with beech, which makes a very noble walk. He has likewise levelled a great piece of the other plantation which lyes on the other side of this newly planted ; he is now clearing all the borders round the house, and levelling the ground. In the flower garding he has made a hot bed, and has sown the mellon seeds you sent by post, and cowcubbers, and has gotten frames made and glasses. They are come up finely ; he does not doubt but they will doe as well here as any where. He goes on Monday next to Sir Christopher Musgrave's."

Allusion is made, we may observe, in these letters to the principal features of the garden existing at the present day—the bowling green, the beech hedges, the greens (meaning no doubt the evergreens), the rows of limes, chestnuts, and beeches at the end of the garden next Heversham, all now stately trees. These limes, it may be noted in passing, must have been among the first of this kind of tree planted in England, introduced as they were during William III.'s reign (about 1695) from Holland, where they were favourite trees. And from the stout ash stakes mentioned in the letters we may infer that the trees, which they were needed to steady against the wind, must have been of considerable size when planted, and if this were the case with the evergreens, they were probably shaped somewhat into the forms intended for them afterwards to present ; and by this means the general design of the garden, together with much of its detail, would be realised at once.

And thus for a good part of two centuries this garden has continued substantially what we now see it. How many successive generations have strolled pleasantly along those

same long straight walks of gravel and sweeps of lawn, and have looked with pleasure on those fantastically-shaped yews and box trees and hollies,—those same high walls of smooth-cut beech, and those same stiff, box-bordered beds! Yes, have looked with pleasure; for though this style of gardening has gone out of favour, and critics have pronounced the tree-clipping a barbarous mutilation of nature, and the stiff, straight lines of the walks and flower-borders an offence to the eye which nature has made to delight in flowing curves, still people will look upon it with pleasure. In spite of all that can be urged against it, there is a charm in such gardens not to be gainsaid. To call them “formal and artificial” is not necessarily dispraise. As an adjunct to the palace or the mansion the artificial is in place; the stiff lines of terrace walks and beds close about the house accord with the stiff lines of its architecture; and the garden, with its formal arrangement of trees and shrubs, is needful to blend the house with the flowing lines and wilder forms of nature around. Then the clipped forms of yews and box and holly, with their smooth-shaven surfaces, look so sleek and comely, that nature seems hardly to regard such treatment as a mutilation; and one might almost imagine, so well do they thrive and grow under it, that she had expressly designed them to receive it. For these charming evergreens, so essential by their brightness and their hardy nature to the winter beauty of our gardens, would soon outgrow the space assigned them, and must needs be cut down, were it not for their readiness to endure the pruning knife and shears. The annual clipping keeps them to the exact size and shape their position requires; and, growing equally well, however trimmed, angular flat-sided forms are given to some to make them accord with the square forms of the house, the terraces, and box-bordered beds, while the rounder and pyramidal shapes make others harmonize better with the plants and shrubs of smaller growth in their natural state around.

Thus, year after year, they fill the same places, making the garden for generations substantially the same. And there is pleasure in this permanence. What we are looking upon with pleasure is precisely what generations before us have looked upon with pleasure, and what will be, or may be, handed down for the gratification of generations to come. Then, be it remembered, in gardens such as these, within the



Levens Hall, Westmoreland.
From a drawing by the Rev. G. F. Weston, M.A.

limits of less than half a dozen acres, what an amount and what a variety of pleasures to the garden-lover are gathered together : pleasures for all seasons of the year and varying with every day of the year. Planned with a view both to sun and shelter, here the earliest signs of returning flower-life are seen. The year has hardly turned ere snowdrops and aconites and crocuses show their heads above the soil ; and when spring has well set in, there is already brightness among the box-edged beds ; and close at hand are the pear-trees and the apples and the plums laden with blossom, and encircling walls are pink with the well-trained nectarines and peaches ; and pleasant it is to stroll up and down the level paths in the warm sunshine, sheltered from the sharp east winds.

Then in summer how charming the perfume from the roses and the self-sown mignonette and the scores of other hardy flowering plants, so dear to all who love old English gardens ! Pleasant, too, it is to stroll among the crops for kitchen use and note their growth and to refresh the parched mouth with strawberries and currants and other summer fruits just plucked from the bushes. Grateful then is the shade beneath the tall limes in the Wilderness, and pleasant in the cool evening an hour or two at bowls on the faultless green !

Then, as autumn comes on and flowers damp off and blacken under the heavy dews at night, one may turn from the unwelcome sight and be gladdened again by the crops of ripe, rich-coloured fruit, under which the trees close by are bending, and find brightness lingering yet.

And when winter at last returns and flowers and fruit are gone, and the yellow leaves have fallen, and the trees are bare, there are still the quaint forms of the box-trees and the hollies and the yews, all bright and green as ever, and the rich brown of the high beech walls, cheating winter of half its gloom.

These are pleasures dear, one and all, to the true lover of a garden ; and these pleasures he may have, day by day, throughout the year, in a garden such as this, as he strolls now here now there, the eye, the smell, the taste, all gratified in turn. Now shut in by walls and trees in sweet seclusion, he sees but the old gabled mansion and the quaint trees and the bright mosaic of the flower-beds, all choice tokens of

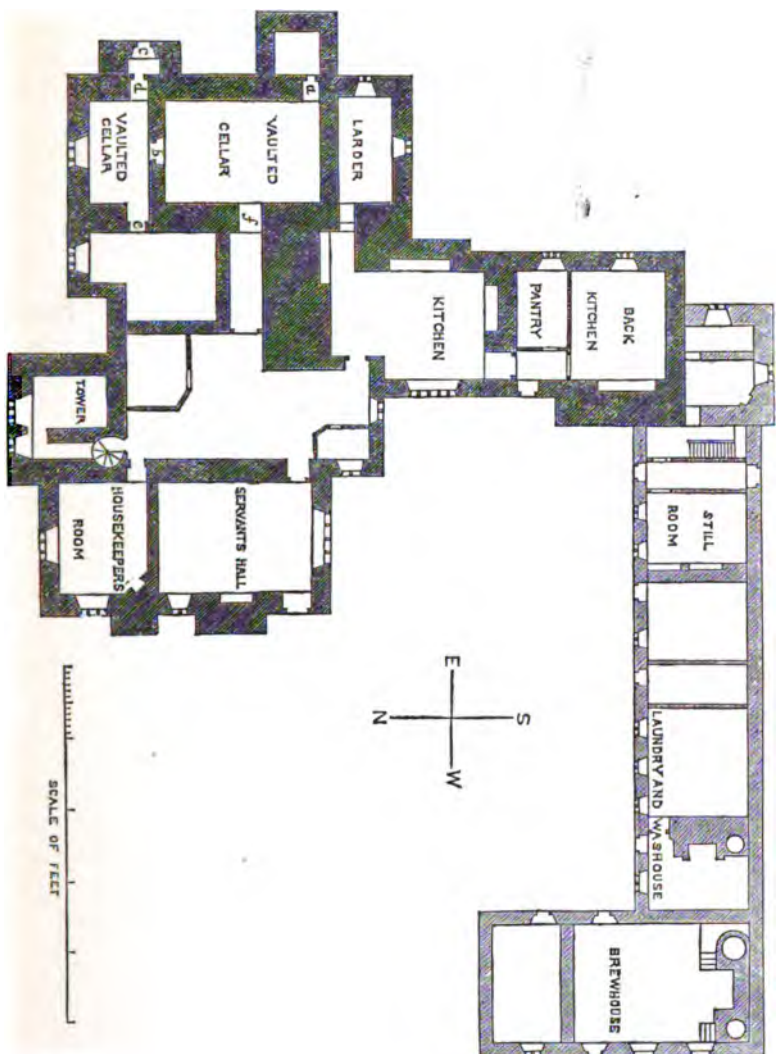
man's art ; and then, not far from this, the enclosing wall is wanting, and he sees that they who understood so well the artificial and could make it look so charming were lovers of nature too. A landscape of rare beauty lies opened out to view,—green sweeps of park-like pastures stretch out before him, with trees, here in wild beauty, singly and in groups, between the breaks of which are seen sweet peeps of ivied homestead and white limestone crag, and, far away, blue mountain ranges.

Very charming are these Levens gardens ! So think the good folks of Kendal and the country all around ; and no pleasanter day's excursion have they for the delight of friends coming from afar. So think too, as each 12th of May comes round, the joyous groups who flock thither on that day, when the mayor and aldermen of Kendal come, as of old custom, to do justice to the "radish feast," and when all the young athletes who can run and jump and wrestle spend a merry afternoon.

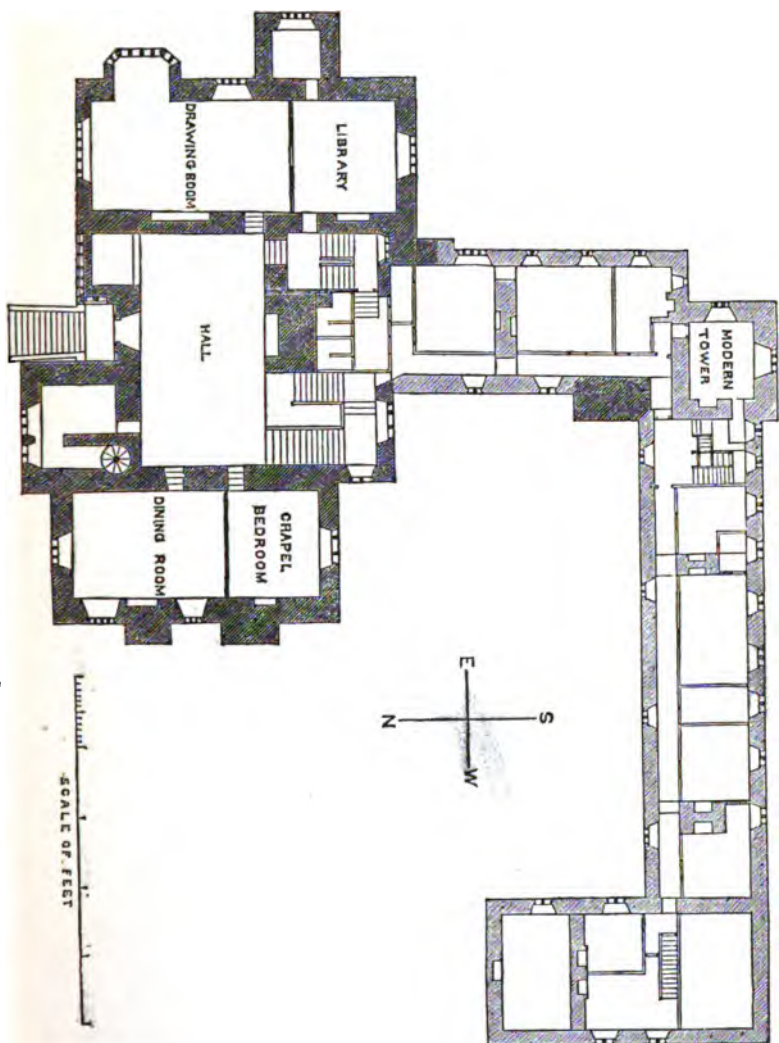
Few sights even of bonny Westmoreland are better worth a visit than this "dear old Levens," as it is often lovingly called. Few ever give to it a day of their tour among the lakes but find in the old house, with its carved oak furniture and fittings and its quaint gardens and romantic little park, a treat beyond what they had looked for and deem their day well spent.

And none ever pass a few days beneath its roof but find pleasant visions of its paneled rooms and bright garden scenes from the mullioned windows haunting the mind's eye afterwards ; and, as memory brings back the happy visit, they heartily repeat the wish, first uttered, as of old custom bound, when they sipped from the tall, stout glass, yclept "The Constable," at the meal that made them welcome to the house, that curious brown, strong drink, brewed here from time unknown, and called, but I know not why, "Morocco,"

"Luck to Levens as long as the Kent flows."



I. LEVENS HALL, WESTMORELAND. Ground-plan.
(a, b, c, d, e, ancient doorways with square-trefoiled heads; f, doorway broken through.)



II. LEVENS HALL, WESTMORELAND. First floor.

THE RISE AND RACE OF HASTINGS.

DOMESDAY records the possessions of a certain "Galterus" or "Walterus Diaconus," a tenant in chief in the counties of Essex, Gloucester, and Suffolk, and an under-tenant in those of Essex and Norfolk. Godwinus and Willielmus are the only two other tenants in chief so designated, and both occur in Essex. Among the under-tenants there is but one other, "Diaconus quidam," who occurs in the same county. Among the holders of lands before the Survey there occur eleven "diaconi," but no "Walterus," who therefore, being a large proprietor, was probably a Norman. The designation appears to indicate the first step in Orders, and to have been compatible with marriage.

The possessions of Walter are thus recorded as a tenant in chief:—

In Glouecscire. In Witelai Hundred. "Walterus diaconus tenet de rege Chesnecote Goduinus tenuit. . . ." [Domesday I. 169.]

In Essex. In Burdestaple Hundred. "In Bura tenet Galterus ii hidas de terra Teddrici fratris sui. . . ."

In Witbrictesherna Hundred. "Purlai tenet Galterus in dominio quod tenuit Leuinus tempore regis Edwardi Eistanes tenet Galterus in dominio quod tenuit Dodinc t. r. E. . . . Purlai tenet Galterus in dominio quod tenuit Leuinus Cilt Fennam tenet i miles de Galtero quod tenuit liber homo. . . ."

In Lassenden Hundred. "Colun tenet i miles de Galtero quod tenuit Leuinus. . . ."

In Tendring Hundred. "Wicam tenet Galterus in dominio quod tenuit Edeua regina et hanc terram dedit Edeua regina Waltero post adventum regis Willielmi. Brumleiam tenet i miles de Galtero quod tenuit Edeua regina. . . ."

In Udelesforde Hundred. "Cestrefort tenet i miles de Galtero quod tenuit E. regina. . . ." [Dom. II. 86-7.]

In Suffolk. In Cosfort half Hundred. "Terra Galteri diaconi. . . . "Bilestunam in dominio tenuit Edid. regina tempore regis Edwardi. . . ."

In Claindune Hundred. "Suinlandam tenuit regina Edid. t. r. E. . . . In Turoluestuna i liber homo. . . . In Westrefelda tenuit Almarus

¹ Continued from p. 19.

liber homo. . . . Turstinus de Galtero de feudo Tedrici. . . . In Acreham ii liberi homines. . . ."

In Hertsmara Hundred. "Bachetunam in dominio Leuvinus liber homo Heroldi. . . . In Caldecota. . . . de dominio de Bachetuna. . . . In Westorp Brictricus liber homo Comititis. . . ."

In Babenbergam two Hundreds. "Mellinga tenet Galterus in dominio quam tenuit Leuvinus de Bagatona. . . . tenet Galterus et est de feudo Thederici fratris sui. . . ."

In Stov Hundred. "In Dagaworda Willielmus tenet. . . . In Weledana. . . . hanc terram Teodericus habuit antecessor Walteri diaconi sine liberatore. . . . In Waterdena. . . ."

In Ipswich half Hundred. "In burgo habet Galterus v domos. . . . quas tenuit regina."

In Claindun Hundred. "Henleie tenuit Uluricus liber homo. . . . In Bruntuna tenuit Leuvinus Teinnus. In Acheham. . . ."

In Carleford Hundred. "In Witdesham tenuit Leuvinus liber homo. . . . In Finesforda in dominio xxvi liberi homines l carucatam terræ commendati antecessori Walteri sancta Æ. socam. . . . In Otelega in dominio. . . ." [Dom. II. 426-7.]

As an under tenant.

In Essex. Tendring Hundred. Terræ regis in Laleford. "Walterus diaconus v acras." [Dom. II. 6^b.]

In Norfolk. In burgo [de Norwic]. "Walterus diaconus l domus habet in burgo. . . ." [Dom. II. 117^b.]

In Depwade Hundred, under the Bishop of Thetford. "Stratuna tenet Walterus diaconus 11 carucatas terræ. . . . et xxvi. sochemannos. . . . tenent Ranulfus et Galterus diaconus. . . ." [Dom. II. 193.]

These entries show that Walter the Deacon was a very considerable person in Essex and Suffolk, that he succeeded various Saxon lords in their lands, as also Edith the widowed queen of the Confessor, who herself gave him one possession after the arrival of the Conqueror. Mention is also made of Tedric, or Theodoric, brother of the Deacon, also an under-tenant, and who may be, and indeed evidently is on some occasions, identical with persons entered as Theodoric only. Mention is also made of another Theodoric, ancestor of the Deacon, and also, as would appear, a landholder in Suffolk.

Of the Essex lands, the descent of which will afterwards be noticed, Purley is in the later hundred of Dengey. Estanes is thought by Morant to be the parish of Stow-Mareys, and is not to be confounded with Little Easton, or "Easton ad turrim," in Dunmow hundred, a manor held of Windsor Castle, and acquired afterwards by marriage. Wica, or Wikes, given by the Queen to Walter, is a parish containing four manors,

of which the capital one, or Wikes proper, was held by the Deacon, and was that in which he and his children founded the nunnery mentioned below. Brumley is Bromley Parva, of which the Deacon held the manor.

Walter the Deacon, or the Dean, as he is called in an early charter, had several children, of whom Robert Makerel, or Mascherel, or d'Estan, seems to have been the eldest, and Walter Mascherel and Alexander, called also de Wikes, or de Waham, with Edith or Godiva their sister, founded, in conjunction with their father, at Wikes, in the reign of Henry I., a Benedictine nunnery dedicated to the Virgin. [*Cartæ Antiquæ*, L. 2, 31, 14. *N. Mon.* iv. 513.] The lands settled on the new foundation appear from various charters to have been, the church of Wikes, Frenne or Fenn manor in Purley, two carucates of demesne land and seven villains in the Vill of Wikes, a garden and manse about the church there, and one-third of the Vill with appurtenances; also 10s. in land in the Vill of Fratinges, to which Alexander added the tithe of his demesne in Purley, and the Isle of Sydrichal-heya. [*Cart. Ant.* L. 2, 3. 16 and 19.]

That Walter, Alexander, and Edith were children of the Deacon, is shown by the direct evidence of a charter of H. I. to Wikes [*Cart. Ant. Rot. c. m.* 20, dorso], and indirectly by the lands settled on the foundation.

Mascherel, Makerel, or Mascarellus, the surname borne by two of the sons of the Deacon, is low Latin for a "chapeau de fer," and possibly the original of "mask." It occurs twice in Domesday each time in Essex, and is evidently Norman. The name also occurs in the *Liber Niger* of the Exchequer, in about 1165, also in Essex. Thus, "*Carta Galfridi Comitis Essex. Feoda Willelmi Makerel iij [milites] quos Anselmus Camdeaveine modo tenet de domino rege.*" Also, "*Carta de Honore de Clare, Robertus Maskarel j militem,*" [*Lib. Nig.* vol. I., 228, 292]. Which Robert was probably the eldest son of the Deacon, and brother of Walter Mascherel. In the reign of Richard I. William Mascherel occurs in Essex, and Rafe in Dorset.

Having established the existence and property of Walter the Deacon, the next step is to show the connection of the property in the next generation with his sons, and with the name of Hastings. And first of Robert, who thus appears in the *Liber Niger* :—

"Baronia Roberti de Hasting. Radulfus de Hasting tenet feodum j militis in Wikes in Essex.

"Willelmus, filius Roberti, tenet feoda quatuor militum in Godmanestona in Dorsett et in Bromlega in Essex. Et super dominium ipsius Roberti in Eiston in Essex j militis et super dominium ipsius Roberti in Bildeston in Sudfolcia j militis." [Lib. Nig. I. 241]. Wikes, Bromley, and Bildeston, were derived from the Deacon, as were a fee in Swineland, and two in Chesterford, also in this Hastings barony. Further, it is noteworthy that Leonard de Venoiz was a tenant in the same barony, and in the 1st of John, Robert de Venoiz and William de Hastings claimed the office of Magistratus Marescalciæ in the Court of Henry I. [Madox, Hist. of Excheq. I. 46].

It appears from a charter in the Record Office [Cart. Antiq. L. 2, 31, 10], that William, the son of Robert, confirmed to the church of St. Mary of Wikes the gift of Walter Mascherel and Alexander his brother "avunculi mei," and from another charter [L. 2, 31, 7], that Alexander de Waiham confirmed to Ralph the son of William his, Alexander's, acquisitions and purchases in the Vill of Wikes, and his lands of Hon-selle and Cokesete, &c., to be held by the service that he held it by from his lord. This charter is witnessed by, among others, William de Hastinkes—evidently Hastings—and Robert de Windesora, and was written at Eistan after the death of the "Lord William."

This Robert, the father of William, and eldest son of the Deacon, and who held the de Clare fee in Suffolk, was probably also the "Malkrell" who held the fees of the fee of Ermegard in the Honour of Bologne, of which one was in Colun and Legre, and one in Bilcho and Horshey, in Essex. Colun, if the same, appears in the Deacon's property, and Ermegard, as will be shown, was probably the wife of Walter Mascherel, a brother of Robert and Alexander [Lib. Nig. I. 391. Morant's Essex, II. 148].

Morant confirms and amplifies the evidence of relationship between Robert and Alexander, and of the three generations from the former, by quotation apparently from a charter preserved in the St. George MSS. cited by Morant, where he states that Alexander, having no issue by Ælia his wife, granted the lands of his own acquiring in Wikes and elsewhere within the Hundred of Tendring, "terram de Wickes

et de Wenberge et Corneshere, et Focheslande, et totam terram meam de Horishelle, et omnes alias adquisitiones in Hundredo de Tendring," to Ralph son of William son of Robert, for which his lord, William son of Robert and father of Ralph, gave him thirty marks of silver and one saddle-horse. He adds, that Ralph confirmed to the church of St. Mary of Wikes the gift of Alexander de Waham, his father's uncle, which his own father William, and his brother Robert, had confirmed to them [Morant, II., 466].

Also, by another charter [Cart. Ant. Rot. C., m. 20, dorso], Henry I. confirmed to St. Mary of Wikes two carucates of land in demesne and seven villains in the Vill of Wikes, with a garden and houses around the church, which had belonged to Walter Mascherel and Alexander his brother and Edith their sister, and Walter the Dean, their father. Also a third part of the Vill of Wikes, &c., wherewith Aely, wife of Alexander, was dowered, as witnessed by the charters of the said Alexander, and of his lord, William, the son of R[obert] and in the Vill of Fratinges 10s. in land, which Alwin Wereward and Godhugh held as the said Walter Mascherel and his brother Alexander gave it, on the petition of Ediva their sister. This charter is witnessed by Richard [de Belmis], Bishop of London, and therefore must be of date between 1108 and 1128. The two preceding charters are no doubt a very little earlier.

There is also extant another charter by the same monarch, dated at Westminster, about 1130, by which he confirms the foundation of Walter and Alexander Mascherel, at the prayer of their sister Edith, for the welfare of their souls and the healing of their sins, and their grant of certain lands and rents to the same. The witnesses are Bernard Bishop of St. David's, Geoffrey the Chancellor, Richard Keeper of the Great Seal, and W. Maltravers. This charter has been selected for publication in the Facsimiles of National Manuscripts.

There is also a charter [Cart. Ant. L. 2, 31, 19], by Robert [de Sigello], Bishop of London, recognising the charter of King Henry to Wikes, and certain gifts, as the Isle of Siricheshia, and the tithes of the demesne of Alexander de Waham in Purley, &c., also recognising the confirmation of Archbishop Theobald. As Bishop Robert flourished from 1141 to 1150-1, the date of the charter must be within those ten years.

In addition to these is a charter of Henry II. witnessed by Gilbert [Foliot], Bishop of London [1163-1187], confirming the gift of the Isle of Sydrichel, according to the charter of Alexander de Wikes, besides a virgate of land in Wendelbi by the charter of Sewallis de Osevil, and besides other donations, one of a mark of land in Oteley by the charter of Ralph de Hastings [L. 2, 31, 16]. This charter is witnessed by G[ilbert], Bishop of London, Ranulph de Glanvill, Hugo de Creissi, Hubert Walter, Bartholomew de Glanvill, Roger de Glanvill, and Richard de Hastings.

It is followed by another charter by Henry II., given in the Book of Facsimiles, and dated Northampton in the Council, between 1157 and 1162. It confirms the grant of the Mascherel family, and allows to the nuns two greyhounds, four braches, or dogs hunting by scent to take hares, with other ample privileges. The witnesses are, Roger Bishop of York, Richard Bishop of London, Thomas [Becket], the Chancellor, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Richard de Humaz Constable, Warin Fitzgerald the Chamberlain, and Richard de Hastings.

The pedigree deducible from these documents includes Walter the Deacon, Theodoric his brother, and probably Theodoric their ancestor, Robert Mascherel, d'Estan, or de Hastings, the elder, and Walter Mascherel and Alexander de Wikes or de Waham, the younger son, Ælia, the wife of Alexander, and Edith his sister, whom we shall see to be the grandmother of Sewallis de Oseville.

We also have William de Hastings, son of Robert and nephew of Walter and Alexander, heir of the latter, and the eldest grandson of the Deacon. In the fourth generation we have Ralph, son of William, son of Robert, great nephew of Alexander, and younger brother of a second Robert. We have also the recognition of William as the head of the family, and therefore the feudal lord of Alexander his uncle.

The second Robert is evidently the person who was assessed in the second and third scutages of Richard I. at 50s. in Essex, and who, 3 John, owed five marks scutage-money, and was afterwards set down at one mark [Rot. Canc. 3 John. pp. 150-1, 161, 340]. He was also assessed on the scutage of Normandy in 1206, and, by an inquisition quoted by Morant, held Blackhall Manor of the Honour of Clare by the

tenure of half a knight's fee, probably a part of the fee held of that honour by his grandfather as Robert Maskerel [Morant, II. 148, Lib. Nig. I. 292].

The record of a suit in the Curia Regis in Essex, probably in 1199, throws further light upon this pedigree. Sewallis de Oseville is plaintiff against Ralph de Hastings concerning half a knight's fee in Wikes which, he says, descended to him from his ancestors. Robert de Hastings enfeoffed Alexander, his brother, of it, and after Robert's death Alexander held it of William his son. After Alexander's death his own son William, held it of William, son of Robert. Also the sister of Alexander was ancestress of Sewallis, and so it ought to descend to him of right. Also Sewallis and Ralph are "de uno cespite," of one stock, and Ralph cannot be at once lord and heir. Sewallis declares Ralph intruded himself into the fee by force, and unlawfully, he being descended from Robert de Hastings.

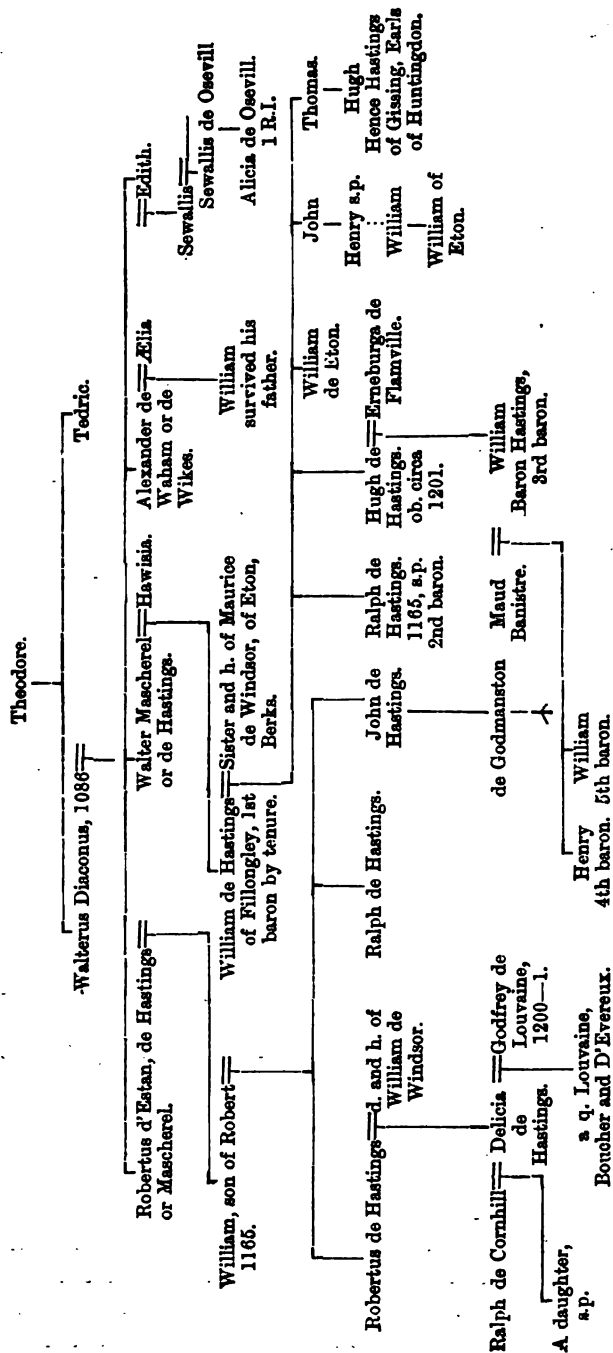
Ralph replied that he was not heir of his father, but had had an elder brother, who held their father's inheritance and barony, and had a daughter and heir who married Ralph de Cornhill who, with his wife, have put him in the plea concerning the said land; for which purpose he placed himself on the great assize six years ago, which assize is not yet ended, so that he is not willing to respond unless the Court should call upon him to do so. A day was given for the hearing, and Ralph named his brother John as his representative; and afterwards a day was given for Ralph de Hastings and Ralph de Corwell [Cornhill] and his wife to hear judgment [Rot. Cur. Regis, I. 318, 344].

In the same court, 14 June, 1199, occurs an entry of a suit between Ralph de Hastings and Sewallis de Osewill; and again, 8th Nov. following, Sewallis de Osewill sought half a knight's fee in Wiche [Wic] from Ralph de Hastings, which plea is repeated 7 May, 1200, when d'Osewill declared that the half fee descended to him from Alexander, uncle of Sewallis his father, to whom Robert d'Estan gave it to be held of him and his heirs, and that he was seized of it in the reign of Henry II., and that Ralph cannot and ought not to hold in demesne as he is heir of Robert, the grantor of the land. Also he, Sewallis, descended from the sister of Alexander, who had the land, and whose heir he is [Rot. Cur. Regis, I. 384, II. 254].

Ralph replied that he did not hold all the land in demesne, for many others so held it, and moreover that he recovered a part of that very land from Ralph de Exon by fine in the court of Henry II., which he put in evidence, the same not being challenged by Sewallis nor his father, then alive [Ib. II. 254]. At an earlier period, 11 Oct., 1198, Alicia de Hastings sued Ralph de Hastings concerning a plea of land at Wikes by William de Eistan and William de Aleng [Alemanno] [Ib. I. 184]. It appears also that, 30 August, 1200, King John confirmed to the Hospitallers, "ex dono Sewallis de Osevilla," the church of Esthildesca, with its appurtenances [Rot. Chart., p. 16].

Ralph de Hastings appears on the Chancery Rolls of 3 John, probably for Essex, as accounting for five marks "de oblatis," and Sewallis, the elder, for one mark in the accounts of the Sheriff of Essex [Rot. Canc., 3 John, 158].

Robert de Hastings, therefore, as the elder brother, enfeoffed Alexander de Waham to half a fee at Wikes. Alexander surviving his brother, held of William his son; and on Alexander's death his son, another William, held of his cousin William. This is not consistent with Morant's statement that Alexander died childless, but makes it probable that the son died soon after him unmarried, and the reversion of his lands passed to Alexander's great nephew, Ralph, and his sister and her children the De Osevilles. It is also seen that the elder line ended in a daughter, Delicia or Alicia, who married Ralph de Cornhill, and was niece to Ralph de Hastings and his brother John. The annexed pedigree will explain the above and some other of the early descents of this family.



Commenting upon the pedigree we have then,—

I. **WALTER THE DEACON**, a considerable landowner at Domesday, especially in Essex, and of whose possessions may be mentioned Purley, Eastanes, Fenne, Colon, Wic, Brumley, Chesterford, Straton, a burgage in Norwich, Chesnecote, and Bildeston. His brother was Teddric or Theodric, mentioned in Domesday, and his children were Robert, Walter, Alexander, and Edith.

II. **ROBERT MAKAREL** or Mascherel, De Estan or De HASTINGS, who granted half a fee in Wikes to his brother Alexander. In the Liber Niger, about 1165, Robert de Hastings has a barony in Essex, within which are contained Swineland, Wikes, Eiston, Bromley, and Cestreford in Essex; Godmaneston in Dorset; and Bildeston in Suffolk. The barony was in fact for the most part, if not wholly, composed of lands inherited from the Deacon. Robert was father of William.

III. **WILLIAM DE HASTINGS** is called son of Robert in the Liber Niger, where he held four knights' fees in Godmaneston, Dorset, and Bromley, Essex; a fee in Eiston, Essex; and a fee in Bildeston, Suffolk. As William, son of Robert, he confirmed to Wikes the grant of his two uncles, Walter Mascherel and Alexander his brother, by charter probably of the reign of Henry I. In the d'Oseville case he is referred to as the head of the family, the "Dominus meus" under whom all held, and whose confirmation rendered valid the family grants. His children were Robert, Ralph, and John.

IV. **ROBERT DE HASTINGS**, with his father, confirmed the grants of Alexander, their uncle, to Wikes. He was assessed in Essex for various scutages in the reign of Richard and John, and for the scutage in Normandy in 1206. He was patron of the nunnery of Wikes.

According to Morant, a pains-taking genealogist, who had access to many early and original private documents in Essex, Robert married the daughter and heir of William de Windsor, son of Robert, Lord of Easton, not the Easton of the Deacon, but a manor held at Domesday by William de Warren, and shortly afterwards by Walter Castellan of Windsor Castle, and next by his son, Robert de Windsor, under the honour of that name. The connection between the families of Hastings and Windsor was very close. Walter de Windro (Windsor) held a fee in Swineland, in the barony

of Robert de Hastings; and Walter de Windsor and Christiana his mother, and Christiana, daughter of Ralph de Windsor, gave Wormingford Church, in Essex, to Wikes, and Walter and Christiana the younger added half the advowson of Burnham, and that of Swineland in Suffolk [Morant, Essex I. 468? N. Monasticon, iv. 513-15]. The Windsor charter of donation is, no doubt, earlier than the Hastings match, since it is addressed to William Bishop of Norwich; and the first of that name, William Turbus, held the see from 1146 to 1174. There was also, as will be seen, a second and almost contemporary match of a Hastings with a Windsor heiress. Robert was father of Delicia.

V. DELICIA DE HASTINGS was sole heiress of the barony of Hastings, with its ten fees, and of the Windsor manor of Little Easton. She was alive and had married Ralph de Cornhill at the time of the d'Osevill suit, 1 Richard I., and was no doubt the Alicia de Hastings who sued Ralph de Hastings for her land in Wykes. Ralph de Cornhill was a Londoner, and a member of a well-known family of farmers general. Gervase, his father, was a judge, and Sheriff of London, Kent, and Surrey, in the reign of Henry II. Henry, the eldest son, married Alice de Courcy, heiress of the barony of Stoke-Courcy in Somerset, who married afterwards Warine Fitzgerald. He farmed the Honour of the Constable, had the old farm of Kent, was concerned in fitting out ships, 34 Henry II., and 1 Richard I. was Sheriff of Kent and Surrey, and Bailiff of London. 3 Richard I. he had the Mint. 7 Richard I. he was dead, and Ralph paid 100% to get his brother's accounts passed "sine ira" for London and Middlesex. Henry left one child, Joan, heir of her father and coheir of her mother, who in the 4th of John, married Hugh de Nevill, protoforester of England, and had John and William de Nevill [Liber de Antiquis Legibus, p. 11].

9 Richard I., Ralph de Cornhill was in trouble, and paid 2000 marks for the restoration of his lands and for the king's favour. Among his pledges were Earl Alberic, Earl David, the Earl of Clare, and others. 1 John, 1199, Ralph and his accounts were removed to a higher audit. He died, and his next brother, Reginald, Sheriff of Kent, offered 50 marks for the wardship of his land and heiress, the heiress of the Hastings barony. The sheriffs of London, Middlesex, and Essex, had orders to inquire into the value of the land

[Rot. de Oblatis, 1 John, p. 2]. Reginald had the custody of his niece till 7 John, 1205, when he was ordered to give her up, with her land, to Henry, son of Earl David [Close Roll, 36]. The sequel, however, shows her to have died childless, and probably under age.

Reginald, her uncle, was dead before 14 John. Isabel, his wife, is mentioned 18 John, 1216. Reginald, his son, was living 14 John, 1213; and Maria, his daughter, probably her brother's heir, held a fee in Overland, Kent, of the Countess of Angi, in the fee of the E. of Arundel [Test. de Nev. 209; Patent Roll, 96-189].

Meanwhile the widow of Ralph de Cornhill, and the heiress of Hastings, was too valuable a property to be allowed to choose her own husband. John at once attempted to dispose of her, for, 2 John, the relict of Ralph de Cornhill offered 200 marks and 3 palfreys and 2 hawks not to marry Godfrey de Louvein, and to have her lands and marry whom she would; and this fine she seems actually to have paid, though with very little result, for Louvein was the man she married [Hist. of Exch.; Rot. de Oblatis; Foss and Morant; also Rot. Canc. 157].

Godfrey de Lovein, or Lovaine, was reputed a brother of the Duke of Brabant; he gave for the lady and her land 400 marks, nearly double what she paid to be quit of him, and in 1199 he was to marry her unless she could show cause to the contrary [Rot. de Ob. 24; Hist. of Exch. I. 515].

An unsuccessful applicant for the wardship of her daughter was Roger, son of Galfrid de Badeley of Suffolk who, 2 John, 1200, gave 10 marks of silver for letters to Reginald de Cornhill, Sheriff of Kent, to have the daughter of Ralph de Cornhill in marriage [Rot. de Obl. 81]. Finally, Godfrey and Delicia were married; no more is heard of Delicia's daughter, and, 5 John, 1202, Godfrey paid 7*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* for Eistanes and Wica. Their son, Matthew de Louvaine, by inquisition 30 Edward I., was seized of the manor of Easton-ad-Turrim, held of the honour of Windsor, of a quarter fee in Wikes, a quarter fee in Weyland and Bromley in Essex, four fees in Godmaneston, Dorset, and fees in Bildeston, Cestreford, Berneston, and Stowe-Market, all in Suffolk. His successive descendants were Matthew, died 1302; Thomas, died 1345, seized of lands in Dorset, Suffolk, and Essex; and John de Louvaine, who all held half a fee in Wikes, Bildeston, and of

the Honour of Windsor, Little Easton or Easton-ad-Turrim, besides other properties derived from the Deacon in Easton and Chesterford [Morant I. 431 ; II. 439 ; Test. de Nev. 170, 264, 272].

John de Louvaine left Alianor daughter and heir, living 1365, and who, by Sir William Bouchier, was ancestress of the Earls of Essex of that name, whose heiress married Devereux, also Earls of Essex, and who thus represented the eldest line of the House of Hastings. It is however remarkable, that though Bouchier and Devereux always quartered Louvaine, they never quartered Hastings, whence it is to be inferred that Delicia did not use armorial bearings, and that the famous "maunch" was confined to a younger branch of the Deacon's descendants.

It will afterwards be shown that upon the extinction of the male line of Louvaine, the superiority over Bromley, Godmaneston, and other of the Deacon's manors, passed to the earls of Pembroke. Little Easton, which came by an heir female from the Windsors, was retained, and became Bouchier property. Centuries afterwards it was sold to the Maynards.

IV. 2. RALPH DE HASTINGS, the second son of William, had from his father's uncle, Alexander, called De Waham, all his purchased and acquired lands in Wikes, Wenberge, Corneshere, and Fochesland, and his lands in Horishelle or Houselle and Cokesete. Ralph also confirmed to Wikes nunnery the gifts of Alexander, already confirmed by Ralph's father and elder brother. He held one fee in Wikes of the barony of Robert de Hastings in 1165, recovered Wikes by fine from Ralph de Exon in 1189, was defendant in the d'Oseville case in 1189-99, and, 5 John, 1202, he rendered an account for five marks due in Essex, according to the Chancery Roll of that date [p. 149].

Upon the death of his brother Robert, Ralph became patron of Wikes Nunnery, and is so recognised in a charter by Idonea the prioress, and the convent, witnessed by Godfrey de Louvaine and others, by which she grants to Ralph and his heirs the chapelry which his predecessors had in his court of Wikes, she finding a chaplain and a clerk to celebrate a mass thrice weekly, and paying to Ralph 12*d.* at Michaelmas and 6*d.* at Easter, annually, for the "rewain" or latter-math of Chercefield meadow, after

Ralph shall have removed his own hay from it [N. Mon. iv. 515].

Ralph seems to have died childless.

IV. 3. JOHN DE HASTINGS, brother of Ralph, and in 1189-90 his substitute in the d'Oseville case. He also witnessed Prioress Idonea's charter. John has been reputed the ancestor of a family called Godmanston, who certainly in the male or female line sprung from this House of Hastings, and almost certainly from III. William. Of the Deacon's fees, four in Bromley, in Essex, and Godmanston, in Dorset, were held by his son Robert and his grandson William; but the Louvaines, though they retained the chief lordship, did not hold them in demesne. Morant says they went off to a male branch of the family, who, from the chief manor, bore the name of de Godmanston, and who in the person of Robert de Godmanston farmed Middleton Abbey as early as 31 Henry II. 1184-5. [Hist. of Exch. I. 310.] Also, by a fine at Sherborne in 1202, it appears that Richard de Godmanston and Mabel his wife held lands in Godmanston under William the son of Robert [de Hastings] as chief lord, so that the grant was probably made by William shortly before this, either to Robert the farmer of Middleton, or to Richard, or to Mabel, who might have been a Hastings, and sister or daughter to William. They bore "Azure, an eagle displayed or," a coat never attributed to Hastings. [Fines, 3 John, p. 83.]

The next known in the pedigree is John, father of Matthew, and the next is William de Godmanston, who in 15 Edw. I. swore to an event which occurred the year after the battle of Evesham (1266), so that he must have been born as early as, say, 1256. Then occurs Robert de Godmanston, summoned with horse and arms, 7th July, 1297, for lands above £20 yearly value in Somerset and Dorset, and who held four knights' fees in Bromley and Godmanston to 1302 under Matthew de Louvaine. John, his son, held the same in 1347 under John de Louvaine, and paid to the manor of Easton £4. Walter, probably his son, Sheriff of Essex and Herts in 1381, presented to Little Bromley Church in 1364, as did his son William from 1395 to 1408, and his son and heir, John Godmanston, from 1432 to 1446, and was Sheriff of Essex in 1452. William, his son, presented from 1464 to 1467, and fell at Barnet, fighting for Henry VI., 14th

April, 1471. He was attainted, and then was holding Little Bromley Manor of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, and restored in blood as of Bromley, 1485. His sister inherited, but the property passed away in the sixteenth century, and thus ended this possible male line of Hastings. [Cal. Geneal. I. 385. Parl. Writs, I. 638. Morant. II. 439. Hutchins' Dorset, III. 327.]

Having thus disposed of the descendants of Robert, eldest son of the Deacon, the story returns to his younger sons.

II. 2. WALTER MASCHEREL, probable ancestor of the baronial family of Hastings, who will be taken afterwards.

II. 3. ALEXANDER DE WAHAM, or Wix, or Wikes, third son of the Deacon, is known by his extant charter of lands to his great-nephew Ralph, his grant to his sister Edith, and his liberal donations to the Nunnery of Wikes, which are recorded in various of the charters of that house. His wife was Ælia, and although by one account he was childless, it seems more probable that he had a son, William, who survived him, but died early, so that the paternal donations took effect. This was the William who held half a fee in Wykes under his cousin and chief, Lord William, son of Robert de Hastings.

II. 4. EDITH is the only daughter of the Deacon of whom mention is made. She joined with Walter and Alexander in their grants to Wikes, and had the half fee in Wikes from Alexander. She married a d'Oseville, and had Sewallis and probably Walter de Oseville, who witnessed the double charter of Abbot Albold of St. Edmund's, 1115-1119, of the seneschalship of that abbey to Maurice de Windsor [Joc. de Brakel. Chron. p. 118-19]. Sewallis d'Oseville held, in 1165, four knights' fees under Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, in Essex [Lib. Nig. I. 228]. He was father of another Sewallis d'Oseville, who claimed the maternal half fee in Wikes from his cousin, Ralph de Hastings. He left a daughter, Alicia, his heir, living 1 Richard I.

The particulars of the d'Oseville suit have been given. Sewallis, the grandson of Edith, was a considerable person, and appears in several places in the Testa de Nevill. Thus Hamo de Sta. Fide held a fee in Wendlebury, Oxon, of Sewallis de Osenville, and he of the Earl of Hereford. And of the same earl he held two fees in Wydehay and East Ilsley, Berks. Also two fees in Windesbiry, Oxon, and one quarter

fee in Wanbunge, Wilts [T. de Nev. 105, 11, 13, 17, 35, 38]. There was also a Henry Oseville who was admitted to peace with John in 1216, and John de Oseville who had free warren in Munden, Herts, 13 Edw. I., and a Walter of the same place, 30 Ed. I. [Pat. Roll, 162; Cal. Rot. Pat. 154; Cal. Geneal. II. 623.]

It is thus shewn that Walter the Deacon, a very considerable proprietor in Domesday, was progenitor of a male line of the name of Hastings, filling a considerable position in the county of Essex, patrons of a religious house, wealthy and well allied: that the elder line merged by an heiress in the house of Louvaine, cadets of Brabant, and these again by heirs female in the Bouchiers and the Devereux successively Earls of Essex. Further, that a branch whether by a male or female ancestor, settled at Godmanston, in Dorset, and acknowledged fealty to the main line until late in the 14th century. Also that the d'Osevilles came by a female from the same stock, and also held a part of their land under the same lords. The next point is to establish the descent of the Baronial House, and for this we must look to Walter, second son of the Deacon, and the only one whose male issue has not been shewn to be exhausted.

It has been seen that the patronage of Wikes, vested in the male heirs of the founder, did not pass with the Delicia, the heirs female, to Louvaine, but was by Prioress Idonea recognised to be in Ralph de Hastings, who, on the death of his elder brother Robert, became the male head of the family. There was indeed another Ralph de Hastings, a baron, who, failing Delicia's uncles, might have claimed, but he died, probably about 1163, many years too early.

It is, however, stated positively by Morant [II. 347] that Freme or Fenne, a knight's fee held by the Deacon, and granted to Wikes by Walter [not William] Mascherel, is the same fee held by the Prioress under John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, in 1374, when he was patron of Wikes; and it seems probable that this superiority came into his family as the next male heirs, after the death of Ralph and John de Hastings, already mentioned. Before they acquired this connexion the Lords Hastings, though strong in Suffolk, had no property in Essex. The next step then is to connect them with Walter Mascherel.

G. T. C.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME FINGER-RINGS, OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

IN bringing before the notice of the Society a small collection of rings in my possession, which, judging from the emblems and symbols engraven upon them, were undoubtedly worn by Christians of the earlier centuries of our era, I will not venture to discourse upon finger-rings generally, or upon the history of early Christian emblems. Both of these subjects are of large extent and great interest, and have been elucidated by far more able persons than myself. I would merely preface the descriptions of the rings exhibited, which form part of my "*Dactyliotheca*," and are an extremely interesting section, from the associations connecting them with the early history of the Christian church, by a few remarks which bear generally on the subject. It is well known that the greater number of the early converts to Christianity were of the poorer classes, among whom very many were slaves. The habit of dividing the goods of the rich for the benefit of their poorer brethren also prevailed, the indulgence therefore in rich dress and valuable ornament could hardly exist consistently with such observances. Indeed we are told that it was directly reprobated and forbidden by the early fathers; and although so often quoted, I cannot but refer to the letter of Clement of Alexandria who, alluding to the then fashionable use of ornament in excess, particularly to the great number of rings worn,—it being no uncommon thing to cover each joint, (indeed Martial states that one "Charinus" wore always six to each finger, making sixty rings in all for his daily adornment,)—admonishes the Christians that they should wear but one ring, the which to use as a signet, reproving the habit of having immoral subjects engraven on their signet rings, but that they should adopt a device typical of their faith, such as the palm-branch, emblematic of peace; or a ship in full sail,

representing the church ; a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit and eternal life ; an anchor, of hope ; a fish, the allegorical "χθῆς ;" and other similar devices. Among the rings now described will be found all the emblems here referred to, and in addition some others. The quaint and curious combinations of emblems adopted on early Christian monuments are well known to students of that section of archæology. I would also wish to make some remarks, with a view to the classification of the forms exemplified in this collection, and which appear to have been in vogue at that period, and also on the material of which the rings are made.

These forms do not appear to differ from the general fashion of their day, in the world Christian and Pagan, and may be classified as follows :—

A. The circular hoop of convex metal swelling to the shoulders and flattened to an oval or angular *chaton*. Such are Nos. 2, 8, 10, 24, and 25. The "legionary" rings may be also classed as an oval variety, so shaped possibly to permit of more space on the *chaton*. Such is No. 23.

B. Rings formed of two, three, or more hoops springing from one, widening to the bezel, and generally having beaded wire or chain-work between each hoop. This form, as the last, occurs also at an earlier period. Nos. 1 and 9 are examples of this form.

C. Octagonal. A flat hoop of metal formed into an octagon ; sometimes oval and swelling to the bezel, which is set with a stone or has a raised table of metal ; a form, I think, peculiar to the third and fourth centuries. Such are Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

D. A peculiar form, greatly varying, and, I think, only occurring during the Lower Empire ; sometimes of the largest size, and great weight of metal. The bezel is more or less raised, either in the metal or by an oval truncated conical stone. The shoulders diverge in straight lines at a greater or less angle from the bezel to the sides, from whence the hoop is completed by a semicircle. These rings are sometimes of extreme widths. Nos. 11 and 12 are of this class.

E. A simple hoop, generally of convex metal more or less swelling to the shoulders, and having a circular bezel with flat table, on which the device is engraved ; Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are of this abundant form. No. 26 is a variety with a square bezel.

F. The simple hoop has a high, trumpet-shaped bezel, formed as an inverted cone, of greater or less height, and sometimes octagonal laterally. Such are Nos. 20, 21, and 22.

This form, and also D., are peculiar to this period of decadence, and occasionally occur of grotesque proportions and development, the tower-like head rising sometimes to more than half an inch in height.

It is singular how the forms of rings repeat themselves at distant periods, but always with modifications. Thus the pointed oval *chaton* of the early Greek, recurs transposed in the last century. The tower-like head, in Gothic times, assumes a crocketed and pointed form of extraordinary development.

On the subject of material, it may be observed that, as a rule, early Christian rings of gold are rare. This might be expected, as the use of rich and numerous ornaments was not in accordance with the teaching of the early church. The rule also of wearing one ring only, as a signet, instead of one nearly on every joint, as was mostly the fashion among the Pagans, would account for the comparative rarity of rings with early Christian symbols.

I have not, to my recollection, seen more than two authentic early Christian rings of silver. Bronze is the more common material; iron being much more rare. This probably arises from the easier oxydation and destructibility of that metal, whilst gold and "enduring bronze" come down to us in good preservation. Among the twenty-six rings now described, *six* are of gold, one of them being Byzantine, and one possibly Pagan. Of iron there are two, one from the dry climate of Egypt, the remaining seventeen being of bronze, and one of jasper. Rings with Pagan subjects of the same period are frequently found of massive gold and silver, occasionally weighing as much as two and three ounces; a silver ring in my possession weighs one ounce.

Before entering into a description of each of the rings to which the present notice relates, I will take this opportunity of warning collectors against the many admirable counterfeits, now manufactured at Rome and elsewhere, of early Christian rings, as well as intaglios and cameos, requiring the most careful examination, and not a little experience, to detect the forgeries. All those which I now proceed to

describe have passed the scrutiny of far more able judges than myself, and are of unquestionable antiquity.

1. Gold triple ring, formed as three hoops, springing from one, and widening towards the bezel, between which a beaded wire fills the open space, and on the bezel is formed into the Christian emblem. This form of the emblem was in use before A.D. 312, and is believed to have ceased after that date.

The ring was, I am told, dug up in a vineyard in Rome, and is probably of the latter end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century.

It is possible that the triple ring tied by the cross may be emblematic of the three persons of the blessed Trinity. Rings of this form were, however, in fashion at that, and at earlier periods, two, three, and as many as five hoops springing from one, being found.



2. Portion of a ring of dark green jasper, on the oval bezel of which the following remarkable, and hitherto unknown symbol is engraved in intaglio, viz.—a boat, on which is a cock, carrying a branch of palm. This symbol, as read by the Padre Garrucci, would indicate the arrival of the blessed soul in the haven where we would be; thus, the bird (the cock) representing the soul, and carrying the palm-branch of peace and victory over this world, is conveyed by the boat, which typifies Christ's Church on earth. The workmanship is sharp and good, pointing to an early period of Christianity, probably the second or third century. I purchased it at Rome.¹



3. Ring of bronze, formed as a flat octagonal band, on the

¹ In the collection of the British Museum is a portion of a ring in cornelian of similar form, on the flat bezel of which is engraved a dove holding a branch; its form, size, and general similarity of workmanship would indicate a corresponding

date. The ship frequently occurs. On an intaglio in the British Museum is a ship having a Greek cross on the prow; two fish are beneath. The dove also occurs on another intaglio in the British Museum, standing on a fish.

outside of which is engraved the inscription—V.I.V. I.N. D.E.O.—*Vivas in Deo*, a form of expression frequent on the *loculi* of the catacombs.

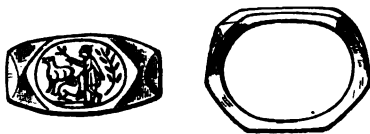
4. Copper ring, formed as a flat octagonal band, engraved thus on the outside—DONATE BIBAS IN DEO. The use of B in place of V in the word VIVAS frequently occurs. This ring and No. 3 are both from Rome, and probably of the fourth century.²

5. Solid gold ring, also formed as a flat octagonal band, but instead of the inscription being engraved outside as in the case of the more ordinary bronze rings, the letters are cut out; each letter occupying a square panel, the ground of



which is cut away, leaving the letter attached merely by points to the sides, a technical peculiarity that may be termed "*champlevé à jour*." This inscription reads—X.P.Ω.M.A.T.I.—CROMATI—a Christian family name, known to be of the fourth century, as I am informed by the Chevalier De Rossi. This ring was also found at Rome, but I am unable to state in what precise locality. It is believed to be of the third or fourth century, and is an object of considerable interest.

6. Bronze ring of oval octagonal form, widening at the bezel, which is set with a red jasper engraved in intaglio with the subject of a shepherd who stands on the left leg, the right being bent; he is supported by a stick in his right



hand, while the left holds a branch of olive towards two sheep, one standing, the other lying at his feet. Behind

² An intaglio on cornelian in the British Museum has the inscription, "Deus dedit vivas in Deo," a circular wreath or coronet probably of olive or

palm, and the Christian emblem formed of the combined Greek letters, Chi and Rho.

him is an olive tree. The shepherd here would typify our Blessed Lord offering the emblem of peace ("My peace I give to you") to his flock. The two sheep, or lambs, may also be intended to represent the Church of the Circumcision and the Church of the Gentiles, to both of whom he offers the peace of his blessed doctrine. Although there is no distinctive Christian emblem upon this intaglio, I have no doubt, from the subject and its mode of treatment, as well as the general character of the ring, that it is Christian of the third or fourth century.³ I purchased it at Rome.

7. Small heavy gold ring, formed as an octagonal band widening towards the bezel, on which, set in an oval raised collar, is a pointed onyx of three strata, engraved in intaglio with a palm branch. I have some hesitation in thinking that this ring is Christian, although the form and general character is of the third or fourth century, and the palm branch is undoubtedly an early Christian emblem. I have not therefore had it engraved. My doubt of its Christian origin arises, firstly, from its being so weighty for its size; such, however, do occur. One, of angular form, in the British Museum, is set with an emerald, having a fish carefully cut in intaglio, and on the opposite side of the hoop, a dove, seated on a branch, between the letters **F A**. Another massive gold ring bears an intaglio on onyx **I M** of the Sacred symbol, the **P** (the Greek rho) being **I L** crossed with the third stroke, a form of much more unusual occurrence. My ring is of excellent workmanship—I purchased it at Athens.

8. A child's ring of gold, a simple hoop, flattened out on the bezel, which is engraved also with the palm branch. It was found in a child's tomb in the neighbourhood of Rome, accompanied by that next to be described.⁴

9. Small ring of gold found with the preceding. It consists of two hoops of gold, springing from one, and widening to the bezel; on each of which a small round paste

³ Genuine intagli of early Christian subjects are rare. The British Museum has some interesting examples—the Good Shepherd carrying the lamb on his shoulders being represented in three intagli. On one he is placed between a

fish and a palm branch.

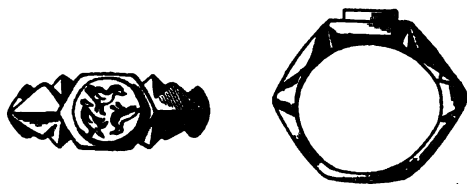
⁴ Rings of this simple form and engraved with the palm are of frequent occurrence. Several are in the Museum at Naples; and one of silver, a rare material, is in the British Museum.

has been set, but these are now wanting. A plait of gold wire fills the opening between the hoops, and is attached at their junction. The Christian Symbol of the palm-branch engraven on one of these rings, and the workmanship and form, being of the third or fourth century, would, perhaps, warrant the conclusion, that they had belonged to a child received into the faith of Christ.

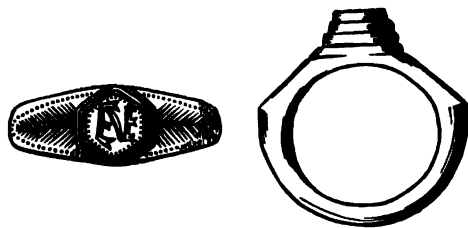


10. Bronze ring—circular hoop of convex metal, swelling to the *scudo* which is of lozenge shape, and on which is engraven the well-known combined X and P. The shoulders are ornamented with lozenge-shaped panelling. From Rome, and of the fourth or fifth century.

11. Bronze ring of coarse workmanship and angular form; the shoulders splayed from the *chaton* to the centre of either side, thence continuing the hoop in a circular form. On a raised circular table of the *chaton* is engraven the device, two doves and a fish.⁵



12. Bronze ring of nearly similar form; the shoulders engraved as palm branches, the bezel raised by four steps or tables, and engraven with a monogram. Also from Rome, and of the same period.



⁵ The fish typifying the Christ or the Christian, the doves the church militant and triumphant.

13. Bronze ring formed as a circle of half round metal, swelling to the shoulders, and having a circular raised *chaton*, on which is engraven a double fluked anchor, crossed by one of a single fluke, and surrounded by a pearled border. This emblem was in use previous to A.D. 312. From the catacombs at Rome.



14. Bronze ring, a plain wire hoop attached to a circular *chaton*, on which is coarsely engraved a ship (the Church) between the letters X and P (*Chi* and *Rho*). Obtained at Rome.



15. Bronze ring, a plain rounded hoop slightly swelling to the shoulders, and surrounded by a plain circular *chaton*, engraved with a draped female, standing between two birds, probably intended for doves, and typifying⁶ the church feeding her proselytes. On either side is the monogram, composed of the letters Chi and Rho. This highly interesting ring is of superior workmanship, and in an excellent state of preservation; it was found in the catacombs, I believe, of S. Calixtus, and was presented to me by my esteemed friend the



Padre Garrucchi, so well known as one of the greatest authorities on early Christian antiquities, and to whom I am indebted for the examination and explanation of the majority of the rings which I now bring under the notice of the Institute. This ring is of the fourth century of our era.

16. Bronze ring, with flat circular bezel, the hoop is circular, and decorated with engraved ornament to represent branches of palm in angular panels. On the bezel a monogram is deeply cut, and for the reading of which I am indebted to the Chevalier de Rossi, the great authority on



early Christian antiquities. He renders it "*Deus dona vitas in Deo.*"⁷ This ring is also of the fourth century, of good

⁶ This may also be intended to represent our fond mother, the church, feeding or gathering to her those of the circumcision and of the Gentiles.

⁷ The "*Deus-dona*" must be taken as a single word, or rather a Christian name of base Latinity, but known to have been used in the fourth century. It would equally read *Deo-dona*, a name also I be-

lieve found in inscriptions of the period. The French descendant of this name, "*Dieudonné*," is still met with in France. I have already, in describing No. 4, alluded to an intaglio in the British Museum on which occurs—"Deus dedit vivas in Deo." The engraving of this monogram, as well as that of Nos. 19 and 20, is reversed, being intended for signets.

workmanship, and in excellent preservation, having a rich green patina. I purchased it in Rome.

17. Bronze ring of coarse workmanship, a circular hoop surmounted by a flat circular bezel, on which is engraved an ear of corn between two fishes, emblem of the bread of life, and of those who live in faith of it. This ring is also from the Roman catacombs, and of the fourth century.

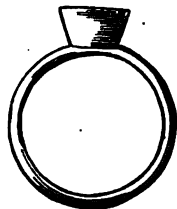


18. Bronze ring of similar form and coarse work, having the sacred emblem, the standard of Constantine, engraved on the *chaton*. It is much oxidised, and was found in a Roman vineyard.

19. Bronze ring of similar form but smaller, and also engraved with the same monogram, but with the P (rho) reversed. This ring is said to have been found in the neighbourhood of the house of *Pudens*, which underlies the church of Santa Pudentiana at Rome, and was supposed to have been brought out with the rubbish excavated therefrom.



20. Bronze ring formed as a circular hoop, from which springs a trumpet or inverted conical bezel, on the flat circular face of which is engraved the sacred monogram, round which is the inscription COSME . VIVAS. This ring is in excellent preservation, and was found in one of the catacombs on the Via Appia.

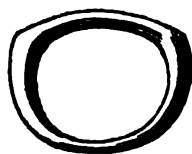


21. Bronze ring of the same class as No. 20, but of still more exaggerated form, the trumpet-shaped bezel rising more than one-third of an inch beyond the outer surface of the hoop ; this conical piece is encircled by three projecting mouldings, and the *scudo*, or face, is engraved with the double anchor crossed by a single one, as on No. 13, and surrounded by a dotted line. Where this ring was found I am unable to say ; I purchased it in London. It is probably of the fourth century.

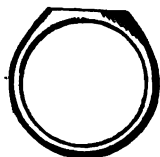
22. Iron ring, of somewhat similar fashion to the last : the bezel is higher, and of octagonal form ; on its flat surface is engraved a subject of two figures, over which is the sacred monogram. On each face of the octagon is

engraven a figure, but the oxidation of the metal renders it impossible to distinguish more than the indistinct form. It is a remarkable ring of its class, both from the material and the great amount of subject engraved upon it. I purchased it in London. From their easy destructibility by oxidation, iron rings are seldom found entire. In the British Museum there is one with a cornelian set in the bezel, and which has been burnt. The intaglio is very rude, an animal, but the cross or sacred emblem is apparent.

23. Bronze "Legionary ring" of oval form with flattened bezel, on which is engraved the so-called legionary number, but this numbering I am unable to decipher. Beneath, at the opposite extreme to the bezel, the hoop is flattened, and



the Christian letters occur. I am unable to account for the *M* which occurs on each shoulder. I procured the ring in Rome. These rings are called "Legionary rings" by the Roman antiquaries. Mr. Waterton thinks that they may have been for the use of soldiers, the number denoting the company or "*cohors*." The Legions never exceeded 28, whereas the numbers on these rings occur to 100. From Rome.⁸



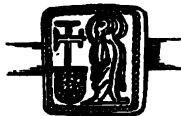
24. Gold ring: a circular convex hoop, widening to the shoulders, and flattened to form an oval bezel, on which is engraved a monogram between two Greek crosses. I have not been able to read the monogram. The ring is Byzantine, probably of the fifth or sixth century, and was found at Constantinople, where I purchased it. The workmanship is excellent.

⁸ See the supplementary notice of a legionary bronze ring in Mr. Waterton's collection.

25. Small iron ring, a circular hoop swelling to the *chaton*, on which is engraved the lion of St. Mark. This ring, which is also probably of the sixth century, was found in a Coptic grave near the Temple of "Medinet Aboo," at Thebes, whence the Christians were driven by the Arabs in the seventh century.⁹ The Lion is probably allusive to the church of St. Mark of Alexandria. On an onyx in my possession the lion is represented in intaglio, accompanied by the Greek cross.



26. Bronze ring, a simple convex hoop holding a square tabular *chaton*, on which is engraved a draped male figure having a nimbus round the head, and standing before a cross which is placed on, or springs from, what would appear to represent a bunch of grapes, to which the cross forms the stem—"I am the true Vine." The form of the cross is what would be termed "potent," each arm having a T formed termination. This ring is probably Byzantine, of the sixth or seventh century, and is from Athens.



With the Christian rings which have been described I obtained also during my recent visit to the Eternal City a few objects of a different description, but likewise early Christian. These consist of a bronze lamp from the catacombs at Naples, and probably of early Christian origin. The handle is surmounted by a large open flower of six petals. It has two nozzles for light, each of which is also formed as a flower or star of eight points. The cover is wanting; there are points for attaching three chains for suspension. Also two fibulæ of bronze, formed as doves, very probably of Christian origin; and a martyr's tooth, from the Catacomb of S. Callixtus. These objects, as well as the rings, I have had the honor of exhibiting to the Society.

LEGIONARY RING, IN POSSESSION OF EDMUND WATERTON, Esq., F.S.A.

There are a considerable number of the bronze rings designated by collectors "legionary" in the Waterton *Dactyliotheca*; they were submitted to the Institute at the annual

⁹ See a notice of Eucharistic and other Christian relics found there, and now in my possession, Arch. Journal, vol. xxv. p. 244.

meeting, at Gloucester, in 1860, and are noticed in the Catalogue of the Temporary Museum, p. 24. Mr. Waterton observed that they had been supposed to have been worn by soldiers, as indicating the legion to which they belonged: the numbers engraved upon them range from 1 to 100. At no period, however, did the legions exceed 28. I am enabled to place before the reader a representation of one of the specimens in Mr. Waterton's series; the letter C. engraved upon



it may seem to corroborate his conjecture, as denoting possibly the Cohort. These curious Roman rings have not been satisfactorily interpreted; one in my possession bears the number LXIV. I am not aware whether any example has been found out of Italy, nor have I heard of another ring of this class that bears,

in addition to the usual Roman numerals, like that in my collection above figured (No. 23), any symbol or monogram that may be assigned to the Christian period.

A remarkably fine gold ring of pierced workmanship, similar to that of No. 5, above described and figured, is in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. The ground surrounding the letters is cut away; the legend reads—AEMILIA ZESES—small foliated ornaments being introduced to divide the two words. It was found at Corchester, the supposed site of the *Corstopitum* of Antoninus, about a mile west of Corbridge, on the Tyne. This beautiful Roman relic is described and figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 192; also in the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum formed at Edinburgh during the meeting of the Institute in 1856*, p. 59. There is every probability that this ring is early Christian, and of about the same period as that in my collection (No. 5, *supra*).

TALISMANS AND AMULETS.¹

By C. W. KING, M.A.

MEDICINAL AMULETS AND RINGS AND PROPHYLACTICS.

THE physicians of antiquity had the advantage of one powerful auxiliary, the patient's own imagination, now totally excluded from the regular pharmacopœia, and subsisting only in the practice of those old hags in out-of-the-way country places who still cure burns and bruises, and disperse wens and warts according to the mystic lore of old. The agents employed were natural amulets and spells, of which the old Grecian doctor made as liberal use as any "medicine-man" now-a-days amongst the Red Indians. Such remedial means, according to Pindar (Pyth. III. 90), seem to have formed no unimportant part, nay rather, to have held the first place in the resources of the actual god of the healing art when he set up in business for himself after serving his apprenticeship to the Centaur, his predecessor in the same line. The poet describes how thereupon immediately flocked unto him "all people either long afflicted by natural sores, or wounded by the grey steel, or damaged in body by the burning fire or by the nipping frost; some he treated by means of *soothing spells*, others by suitable potions, some by applying medicines to their injured limbs, others again he set on their legs once more by the use of the knife."

The descendants of Esculapius long continued to follow so respectable a precedent. Hippocrates declares (and evidently without intending a joke) that spells are very useful as adjuncts to medicines, although of little service by themselves. Even the sceptical Pliny, though he indemnifies himself by an occasional sneer at their absurdity, found himself compelled, by the force of public opinion, to ensure the completeness of his work by filling it with a list of the supernatural virtues, not merely of herbs, but of all

¹ Continued from p. 34.

sorts of objects which operated when merely carried about the person.

Such being the case, it is very conceivable that the medicinal as opposed to the magical virtues of sigils upon gems, of which Camillo, physician to Cæsar Borgia, has left us so copious a list in his "*Speculum Lapidum*," as constituting a very important element in the education of the Italian doctor of the fifteenth century, were not from first to last the chimeras of dreaming mediæval monks, but were, many of them, received by tradition from the ancient masters in the art. And what confirms this view is the finding the recognition of the value of charms in the cure of disease ever and anon obtruding itself throughout the works of Alexander Trallianus (who flourished under Justinian), although his writings are in other respects highly commended by competent judges for the knowledge they display of the nature of diseases, and their proper mode of treatment. Further on will be found several extracts from his book prescribing, with the utmost minuteness, the proper mode of applying these powerful arcana. It would be interesting to know the exact nature of the rings sold in the days of Aristophanes, nine centuries before Trallianus' date, for protection against the bite of serpents and noxious insects; but there is reason to suppose, if the authority of the Arab astrologers counts for anything, that they bore the figure of the creature to be repelled by their virtue. This supposition also would account for the frequency of bronze rings of early workmanship engraved with the scorpion, the fly, and even smaller vermin.

Aristophanes (Plut. 883) makes his "honest man" reply to the common informer in these terms of defiance:—

"I care not for thee since I wear a ring,
For which I paid one drachma to Eudemus."

To which the other retorts,—

"But 'tis no charm against th' informer's bite."

Antiphanes again (Athen. III. 123) mentions another sort, exactly answering to the galvanic rings, whose virtues used to be so wonderfully puffed a few years ago as preservatives from all manner of aches and pains, for he introduces his miser, exclaiming,—

"In a kettle
Beware lest I see any one boil water :

For I've no ailment : may I ever have none !
 But, if perchance a griping pain should wander
 Within my stomach or about my navel,
 I'll get a ring from Phertatus for a drachma.'

But to a much later stage of ancient society belong those magical rings whose potency was of higher order, dealing not with natural ills, but with the abstract principle of Evil, an idea totally absent from the graceful mythology of primitive Greece. To their consideration a distinct chapter has been devoted in the sequel.

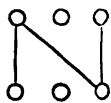
To return to the subject viewed as an auxiliary of the healing art ; the following are amongst the most interesting of the recipes given by Trallianus. Against the *gout* (B. xi.), "Take a strip of thin gold and, after engraving upon it the words MEY . TPEY . MOP . ΦOP . TEYΞ . ZA . ZΩN . ΦIAOY . XPI . ΓE . ZE . ΩN., wrap it up in the sinews of a crane, put it into a little leather case, and wear it tied to the ankles. Inasmuch as by these *Names* the sun is strengthened and daily renewed, so is this composition restored unto its former power : '*Now, now quickly, quickly, lo ! I say the Great Name wherein quiet is confirmed.*' ΓΑΖ . ΑΖΥΦ . ΖΥΩΝ . ΟΡΙΝΞ . ΒΑΥΝ . ΧΟΑΚ. '*Strengthen this composition as it was at the first ; now, now quickly, quickly.*'"—It is evident that these invocations to the sun are given for translations of the two spells in an unknown tongue ; and the giver's express declaration that they contain the *names* of that luminary sufficiently explain the frequent occurrence of TEYΞ² and BAINXO upon our talismans.

Another of his prescriptions, good for the gout and all fluxions :—"When the moon is in Aquarius or Pisces, dig up before sunset the sacred herb called *hyoscyamus* with the forefinger and thumb of the left hand without touching its root, and say, 'I speak unto thee, I speak unto thee, O sacred herb ! I call thee that thou come to-morrow into the house of Phileas, that thou mayest stop the fluxion in the feet or hands of such and such a one. But I conjure thee in the great Name ΙΑΩΘ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ, who hath fixed the earth and fastened the sea abounding in flowing waves, who hath dried up Lot's wife and made of her a pillar of salt, receive into thyself the spirit and the forces of thy mother the earth, and

² It is actually inscribed under Sol in his quadriga on a large hæmatite of my own.

dry up the fluxion in the feet or hands of such and such a one.' Next day take the bone of any dead animal, and before sunrise dig up the root therewith, saying, 'I conjure thee, by the holy names, Iaoth, Sabaoth, Adonai, Elohim.' Then sprinkle a little salt upon the root, saying, 'As this salt shall not increase, so let not the pains of the patient increase.' Then take the small end of the root and tie upon the patient, but hang up the remainder thereof over the fire-place for 360 days."

As a remedy for the *colic* (seemingly a much more frequent complaint with the ancients than in our days), he prescribes the wearing of an iron ring, engraved with this figure, which again is a regular Gnostic device, and to be seen conspicuously upon one of the leaden scrolls from the Vigna Marini tombs.³ The ring itself is to be eight-sided, and on each side to bear two syllables of the formula :—**ΦΕΥΓΕ ΦΕΥΓΕ ΙΟΥ ΧΟΛΗ Η ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΟΣ ΣΕ ΖΗΤΕΙ**. "Fly, fly, ho there ! Bile, the lark is looking for thee." He adds :—"Of this recipe I have had long experience, and have deemed it unreasonable not to make it known, being as it is of such great virtue as an *antipathic* to the disease. But I recommend you not to communicate such things as this to the vulgar, but only unto the lovers of virtue and those able to keep a secret. Wherefore also, the divine Hippocrates exhorts us, saying, 'These matters being holy you must declare to holy men alone : to the profane it is not lawful.' Observe that the prescribed ring must be made upon the first, or else the seventeenth, day of the moon's age." For the same complaint, he also recommends the wearing an intaglio of Hercules strangling the Lion, cut upon a "Median Stone." Now such engravings in the rudest style of the Lower Empire are frequently to be met with, having, moreover, the initial of the malady they are intended to combat repeated four or six times on the reverse, in the form of a square, or in two rows, so as to leave no doubt upon the object of the amulet. But all that I have seen are in red jasper, whereas Pliny describes the Lapis Medicus, "so called after the Medea of fable," as black with veins of gold. For the *stone* in the bladder, the same high authority recommends you "to get



³ Matter, "Exeursion gnostique en Italie." Pl. xii.

a piece of copper ore, either Cyprian or Nicanian (as being the purest sorts, one must suppose), that has never felt the fire ; to pick out the veins of metal and beat them up together into the shape of a signet-stone, on which you must engrave a *lion with the sun and moon*, and set the same in a gold ring." This device is often met with engraved on jasper ; perhaps its popularity arose from the general faith in this its particular virtue. And, as regards the special material ordered by Trallianus, I have in my own experience observed disks of a reddish metal set in gold rings, although none bearing the sigil in question. The *colic*, if we may judge from the number of charms against it that have been transmitted from Roman times, must have been a very prevalent complaint amongst the *bon-vivants* of the Empire. Nor is the fact to be wondered at after reading the recipes for the dishes then in most esteem, as given us by the famous Apicius : vegetables uncooked and strong pickles forming so considerable a proportion of their meals, all washed down by oceans of sour much diluted wine. Strange to say, this disease had been unknown in Italy before the reign of Tiberius, and the emperor himself was the first sufferer from the unpleasant novelty. Pliny records how all Rome was puzzled on first reading the word *colum* in the edict put forth by the prince to excuse his non-appearance in the senate. The great frequency of charms against the disorder, an irregular mode of treatment to which we find the most eminent physicians of the day having recourse, is a very convincing evidence that the colic then set at defiance all cure *secundum artem*. Amongst these recipes, the most curious that have come in my way are the amulets recommended by Marcellus Empiricus,⁴ an authority well worthy of his surname, such is his fondness for these now unrecognized branches of the *materia medica*. "Take a thin plate of gold, cut it square, and engrave thereon with a point of the same metal these letters. Roll it up and put it within a tube of gold, stopping up the ends with bits of goat's skin. Then tie the tube with a strip of the same skin upon the right or the left foot, according to which side the pain affects.

L*M*O*R*I*A
L*M*O*R*I*A
L*M*O*R*I*A
L*M*O*R*I*A

⁴ A native of Bordeaux who flourished under Theodosius.

The operation must take place upon the twenty-first day of the moon's age. The wearer must observe strict chastity, neither should he touch a corpse nor enter a tomb."

A second recipe of his for the same malady is to make a ring out of gold thread melted down, engrave on its face a fish or dolphin, and on the shank the verse—

ΘΕΟΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ ΜΗ ΚΥΕΙΝ ΚΩΛΟΝ ΠΟΝΟΝ.

A good specimen of a ring made according to these directions is preserved in the Galleria, Florence, with, however, a slight variation in the reading :

+ΘΕΟΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΠΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΟΛΟΝ.

A remedy for the *pleurisy*, from which, as he promises, "you will obtain wonderful results," is the wearing of a cerulean Scythian jasper (our sapphirine calcedony) engraved with that common Gnostic sigil⁵ s s s upon a bar ; probably a sketchy representation of Esculapius's staff, (the serpent-twined wand of Egyptian priesthood).

For a *sore throat* you are to write on a bit of paper,

ἔιδον τριμερῇ χρύσεον τοάναδον
καὶ ταρταρούχον⁶ τουσάναδον
σῶσον με σεμνὲ νεπτέρων ὕπέρτατε

Interesting on many accounts is the large Praun hæmatite, now added to the Gnostic series in the British Museum. The type is Mars standing, executed in a very debased style, legend **ΑΡΗC ΕΤΕΜΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΝΟΝ.**

In the field are several unknown letters : in those behind the god's head, Professor Stephens of Copenhagen has discovered the Runes **ÆFL**(*able*) "Help," which he conjectures to be the *addition* of some Northman, subsequent owner of the amulet. But it is clear to a practised eye that *all* the inscriptions on the stone were cut at the same time, and by the same hand ; and it is easily conceivable that some Goth in the imperial service (they or Franks almost entirely manned the armies of the Lower Empire) had carried with him spells in the mystic language of his ancestral religion, and caused

⁵ Which invariably accompanies the Chnuphis Agathodæmon on green jasper, which last Galen says was prescribed by King Nechepsos, to be worn as a protection to the chest.

⁶ Some epithet has dropped out here, for the iambic is incomplete, probably the missing word may have been ἀργυρήν, for the barbarous names manifestly denote Phœbus and Hecate.

them to be added to the regular formula of the kabalists upon the amulet made to his order. Upon another gem (in my possession) are added characters to the Greek, that have all the appearance of Runes. The high antiquity of this alphabet has been disputed, but on no tenable ground. F. Schlegel has sagaciously adduced one convincing argument in support of the old theory, that the *Scandinavian* Runes were introduced by the Phœnician traders, (being indeed their own alphabet slightly modified,) in the fact of their limited number, the actual *sixteen* of the original Punic. Had they been as most antiquaries now hold, nothing more than the Roman letters simplified for the convenience of cutting them upon sticks, they would have equalled the number of their parent. In proof of this comes the Welsh Bardic alphabet, the latest of the Runic, and which possesses no fewer than 43 characters. And again, the genuineness of the Scandinavian is established by repeated occurrence upon the *umbos* found in the Thorsberg moss, Flensburg, found in company with denarii of Severus, and legionary inscriptions.

The *formula* upon the stone last quoted may serve to explain another which, from its frequent appearance, must have been held in high esteem in the same ages of the Empire. It is the figure of a reaper at his work, the reverse inscribed in large characters **CXIW**N. The very nature of the subject suggests the reading of the mystic word as a contracted form of *σχίσων*, "about to cut," whilst from the previous example we may infer that the idea of *cutting*⁷ was considered an essential element in the cure of liver complaints, and therefore this sigil of the reaper was esteemed an equally efficacious remedy for that incurable disease. And to conclude, the often cited Marcellus directs any one choking with a bone sticking in his throat to repeat the Homeric,—

μή μοι Γοργεῖν κεφάλην δεινοῦ πελώρου
ἐξ Ἰλίου Πέμπειεν ἀγανὴ Περσεφονεία

which done would procure him immediate relief.

Old Cato's sure remedy for sprains, which Pliny transcribes for the amusement of his readers, was the utterance of the words **HAVT, HAVT, ISTA PISTA VISTA**. But the same

⁷ Perhaps on the same principle by which the belemnite cured the pleurisy, its pointed form being analogous to the piercing pains of the disease.

historian seriously relates that Julius Cæsar having once had a dangerous upset in a chariot never afterwards entered one without repeating thrice a certain spell, *carmine ter repetito*, (xviii. 4,) which however he very provokingly omits to give us.

That most famous spell of all, ABRACADABRA, is first mentioned by Serenus Sammonicus, the most learned Roman of his times, and physician to Caracalla, to whom he dedicated his poetical Guide to Health, entitled, "De Medicina præcepta saluberrima." This work, remarks Spartian, was the favourite study of the unfortunate Cæsar, Geta, for attachment to whose cause this true son of Apollo was afterwards put to death by the imperial fratricide. Severus Alexander, also, "who had known and loved Serenus," greatly admired his poetry, putting him on a level with Horace, as Lampridius' expressions seem to intimate. This high authority orders the word to be written out in the form of an inverted cone, and declares it of virtue against all disease :—

"Thou shalt on paper write the spell divine,
Abracadabra called, in many a line ;
Each under each in even order place,
But the last letter in each line efface.
As by degrees the elements grow few,
Still take away, but fix the residue,
Till at the last one letter stands alone
And the whole dwindles to a tapering cone.
Tie this about the neck with flaxen string ;
Mighty the good 'twill to the patient bring.
Its wondrous potency shall guard his head,
And drive disease and death far from his bed."

The belief in the virtue of this recipe flourished through the Middle Ages. It seems alluded to in the Dialogue on Masonry, ascribed by Leland to Henry VI., for amongst "the things that Masons conceal" is "the winnyng of the facultye of *Abrac*," perhaps signifying the possession of this mystical arrangement of letters ; unless, indeed, one chooses to suspect in this "facultye" a deeper sense,—some traditional knowledge of the ancient abraxas religion. Again, De Foe mentions how people commonly wore the word written in the manner above prescribed, as a safeguard against infection during the Great Plague.

As for the etymology of the word, the most satisfactory yet offered is the compound of the Hebrew *Ha-Brachahs*,

“blessing,” and *dabberals*, “speak, pronounce,” that is, the Holy Name, or Tetragrammaton, itself the mightiest of charms.

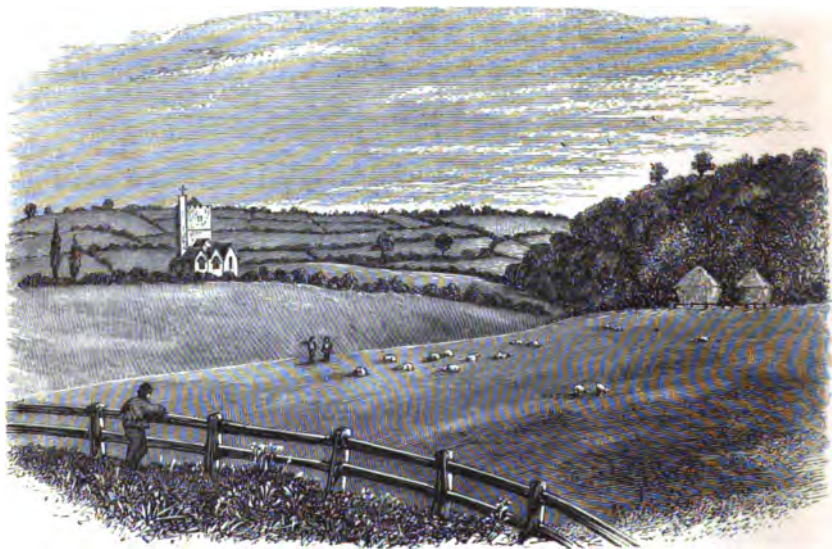
It is very remarkable, considering its high repute, that no Gnostic stone bearing such an inscription should be known to exist. On the other hand, that normal address to Iao ABA/ANAΘANA/BA, “Thou art our Father!” is to be found on talismanic jaspers arranged in the exact pattern recommended by Serenus for the paper spell, and probably so done in compliance with his directions.

(To be continued.)

PERFORATED ALTAR-TOMB AT NEWINGTON-STREET, IN KENT.

By JOHN HEWITT.

AMONG the pleasant glimpses afforded by the London, Chatham and Dover Railway, none is more alluring than that of the pretty village of Newington on the Watling Street, in Kent, with its parcel-Norman church embowered in trees, its picturesque valley running down through a fertile meadow-tract to the mouth of the Medway, its sur-



Newington-Street, Kent, viewed from the railway.

rounding hills, from which we plainly discern the distant towers of Reculver ; while the windings of the Thames to the north and the rich landscapes to the south and east offer a variety of scenery of surpassing beauty, and not the less agreeable to the English gazer from the evidences of mercantile and agricultural wealth which everywhere abound. Attracted by such a glimpse, we took an autumn day's run

to the old Roman-born village in question. Hop-gardens by dozens were around us ; and apple-orchards open to all the world, from which yokel and hobbledohoy came munching along all the day through. Nobody seemed to own the apples, and some of the orchards were half a mile from any house. Newetone is the name of the place in Domesday Survey ; that is, the New town on the Watling Street. Its present name is Newington-Street. Many Roman urns and other vessels have been found in the neighbourhood, of which particulars are given in Hasted's Kent, vol. ii., p. 561. He has a plate also of some of the vases.

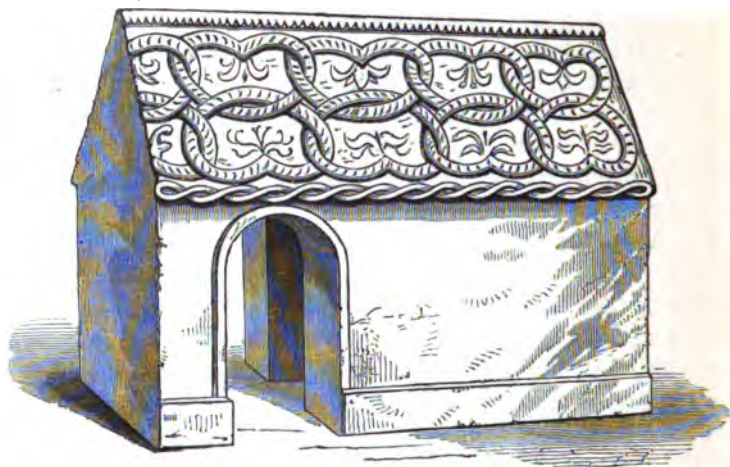
The view of the church here given is taken from the railway. The northern and central gables are the Norman portion of the building. The north gable retains its early window : the centre has an inserted window of Decorated character, but on each side of it may still be traced the small, narrow Norman windows which once lighted this chancel. Inside of the church, between this central building and the "South Chancel," is still found a pillar with rich capital of twelfth-century work.¹ The south division is of Decorated style. The rood-loft staircase in this section is still preserved, and the piscina, one of several that exist in various parts of the church. Among the funereal monuments are several brasses of the sixteenth century, a sculptured one to Sir John Brook, 1594, and others of the family of Hasted, the historian of the county. The reading-desk is a beautiful example of wood-carving of late fifteenth century, a remnant of the old stall-work. The font is curious from its cover "of the beaufet kind, of which few examples now remain." In the north aisle is still found the old blackletter copy of Fox's Martyrs, with its attached chain, from which the zealous Kentish puritans read stirring stories of martyrdom to the rude forefathers of the hamlet of Newington-Street. The tower is of the Perpendicular period, built of squared flints and stone in alternate bands. The church altogether is very spacious and kept in admirable order.

Among the various objects inviting our notice in this fine old church is an altar-tomb standing in the south chancel.

¹ This pillar has been carefully freed from its seven centuries of whitewash by some fair amateurs of the locality. To cite their names would be an impertinence ; but we hope that we are guilty of

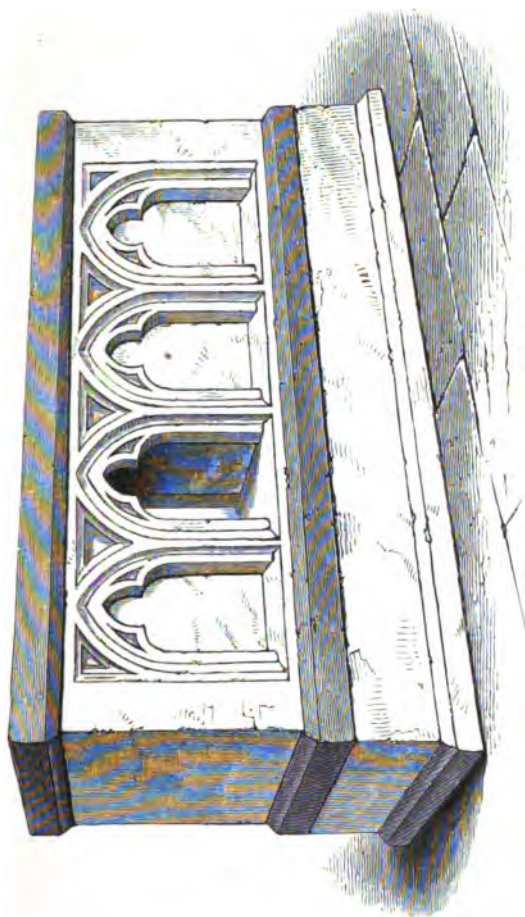
no indiscretion in thus alluding to so praiseworthy an endeavour to restore an ancient memorial to its original perfection.

Of this monument we offer a rude sketch. It is thus described in the county histories :—" In the south chancel is a very curious coffin-shaped tomb of freestone, covered with a



Tomb of St. Dizier, in Alsace.

slab of dark grey marble ; each side displays five deeply-recessed pointed arches with trefoil heads. One of the arches is open through the tomb : for whom this was erected is unknown." The tomb, in fact, is in this wise :—There are four arches ; the coffin is of stone, covered by a slab of Purbeck marble ; on that is an arcade of stone, and over all a slab of Purbeck four inches thick. The plan is tapering, the length 6 ft. 4 in. The panels of the arcade have suffered considerable dislocation, but No. 2 arch is still quite open. The purpose of this opening has given rise to many conjectures. Not being very fond of conjectures, I had not paid much attention to the monument ; but, turning over the pages of Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, I found a very striking resemblance in the tomb attributed to Saint Dizier in Alsace. This example, engraved by Didron, vol. xviii., p. 51, and again in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, vol. ix., p. 45, is here copied. M. Didron thus writes of the French cenotaph :—" Le tombeau de Saint Dizier, dans la petite église de St.-Dizier en Alsace, n'est autre chose qu'une pierre creusée en forme de petite cellule, avec deux portes. Jusqu'en 1835 on faisoit passer par ces



Altar-Tomb in Newington Church, Kent.

From a drawing by John Hewitt, Esq.

ouvertures les personnes atteintes d'aliénation mentale : puis on les plongeait dans une source d'eau, qui coule au village du Val, &c. Une cérémonie analogue avait lieu en Auvergne, au tombeau de Saint Menoux, pour la *guérison des maux de tête.*" (Didron, xviii., 51.)

Sometimes, in lieu of creeping through the saint's tomb, the afflicted person passed beneath a saintly reliquary, which was suspended between the retable of the altar and the wall of the chancel. In the work of Viollet-le-Duc cited above is the drawing of such an arrangement. "Le retable masquait et supportait le reliquaire, sous lequel on pouvait se placer, suivant un ancien usage, *pour obtenir la guérison de certaines infirmités.*" (Vol. viii., p. 36.)



Coming back now to England, we find considerable analogy in the "Holed Stones" of mountain countries and the Riven trees of other localities. In Cornwall we have the "Mên-an-Tol," a perforated stone near Lanyon, "at a little distance from Saint Madern's Well," described in Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, in Gilbert's *Survey of Cornwall*, and in Mr. Brash's paper on "Holed Stones" in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1864 ; and engraved in the first and last of these works. The hole in this stone is 1 ft. 7 in. in diameter, and the custom has been for invalids to be passed through the orifice in order to cure them of their maladies. "When I was last at this monument, in 1749," writes

Borlase, "a very intelligent farmer of the neighbourhood assured me that he had known many persons who had crept through this holed Stone for pains in their back and limbs, and that fanciful parents, at certain times in the year, do customarily draw their young children through, in order to cure them of the rickets. He showed me also two pins, layed across each other, on the top edge of the holed Stone. This is the way of the Over-curious, even at this time, and by recurring to these Pins and observing their direction to be the same or different from what they left them in, or by their being lost and gone, they are informed of, and resolve upon some material incident of Love or Fortune." (*Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 169.)

Borlase refers these credulities to the Druids and their times. "I must observe," he says, "that this passing through stones and holes in order to secure health is the more likely to be one of the Druid principles, because I find that they used to pass their Cattle through a Hollow Tree or through a hole made in the Earth (for like superstitious reasons probably), which was therefore prohibited by Law. 'Qu'on ne fasse point passer le Bétail par un arbre creux ou par un trou de la terre.' Injonctions de St. Eloi." (*Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 169.)

Mr. Tregellas of the War Office informs me that he remembers to have heard tell in his younger days of a Holed Stone that stood on one of the moors near Bodmin, which was used for curative purposes; and inclines to believe that this was the fragment of an ancient Cross, the aperture being one of those formed between the cross itself and the encompassing circle.

Before we leave Cornwall, let us advert to a very curious ceremonial described by Borlase in his "Natural History" of that county. It belongs to our subject from its relation to the Alsatian monument in its influence on lunacy, and from its testifying to the need of saintly intervention for the assurance of a cure. At p. 302 he writes: "A very singular manner of curing madness is that mentioned by Mr. Carew, in the parish of Altarnun, in this county. It was the custom to place the disordered in mind on the brink of a square pool, filled with water which came from Saint Nun's Well. The patient, having no intimation of what was intended, was, by a sudden blow on the breast, tumbled into the pool,

where he was tossed up and down by some persons of superior strength, till, being quite debilitated, his fury forsook him. He was then carried to the church, and certain masses sung over him. If he was not cured at once, the immersion was repeated." This is pretty well Rarey's system with intractable horses ; and, however absurd such a treatment may at first appear, let it be remembered that the insane commonly exhibit a great amount of *cunning*, and that the promise of a repeated dose might well be of considerable efficacy with those not too deeply stricken with mental disorder.

In Ireland several instances occur of Holed Stones popularly believed to effect miraculous cures. Near Tullow, County Carlow, is the monolith called Cloch-a-Phoill (the Holed Stone). "It was the practice, says Ryan (Hist. of County Carlow, p. 338), to pass ill-thriven infants through the aperture, in order to improve their constitution. Great numbers formerly indulged in this superstitious folly, but for the last twenty years the practice has been discontinued. My informant was a woman who had herself passed one of her infants through the aperture of this singular stone." Sometimes the opening was formed by a large stone so resting on two or more subjacent ones as to leave a passage between them. "In the county of Waterford," says Gilbert, in his Survey of Cornwall, "is a Druidical remain to which superstition still attributes the power of curing rheumatism, called Saint Dedan's Rock ; and on the patron day of this saint, great numbers creep under it three times in order to cure or prevent pains in the back" (vol. i. p. 177). Several such groups of stones, existing in Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, are engraved by Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, plates 10 and 11. The Holed Stone in Castledermot churchyard, County Carlow, figured by Mr. Brash in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864, p. 689, appears to have been artificially pierced for rites similar to those already described.

In Scotland, superstitions of a kindred nature appear. The Stone of Odin (Orkney), described by Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals*, had an orifice through which hands were joined in solemn pledge of the just fulfilment of compacts and engagements. "This ceremony," says Dr. Henry in 1784, "was held so very sacred, that the person who dared to break the engagement was counted infamous, and

excluded all society." The custom, he adds, did not fall into disuse till about the middle of the eighteenth century. "In conformity with traditions of similar monuments elsewhere, the Orcadians devoutly believed that an infant passed through the aperture of one of these mystical stones would never shake with the palsy."

Goblin-land had also its relations with perforated stones. The old historian of the Western Islands of Scotland, Martin, informs us that the islanders used to pour out libations of milk, beer, &c., through a Holed Stone to propitiate the demon "Browney," who presided over the making of butter, the brewing of beer, and the like (p. 391).

Mr. Brash tells us that, after diligent inquiry among the Welsh archæologists, he has not succeeded in tracing the existence in the Principality of any monument similar to those described above. I may add that I have made like inquiries as regards Derbyshire, and am informed by my friend, Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, that none such are found in that county. In Yorkshire, we have, at Ripon, the subterranean pierced stone called "Saint Wilfred's Needle," a monument resembling the others in its saintly invocation and mystic properties; though, as is well known, the direction of the influence is in a somewhat divergent line. The sexton of the minster informs me that to this day he has frequent applications for an appeal to its verdict—we may readily believe, made in sport only.

In India the mystic powers of perforated stones are recognised. Mr. Brash quotes a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society by Captain Wilford, in which he says:—"Perforated stones are not uncommon in India, and devout people pass through them, when the opening will admit of it, in order to be regenerated. If the hole is too small, they put either the hand or the foot through it; and, with a sufficient degree of faith, it answers nearly the same purpose." (*Gent. Mag.* 1864, p. 698.)

A shriek from the "London, Chatham and Dover" startles us back to Newington and its altar-tomb. The assumed bearing of the foregoing evidences on this monument may be easily divined. They seem to indicate that the perforation was intended to effect cures, by permitting the patient to pass through from one side to the other. But then, the saint. ? Newington-on-Watling-Street has no local saint.

But if no saint, of martyrs more than enough for so small a locality. Soon after Domesday Survey a nunnery was founded here, and the prioress, according to the traditionary account, derived from Thorn's Chronicle of Saint Augustine,² was strangled in her bed by some of her nuns. The nunnery being consequently "disestablished," soon afterwards "King Henry the Second, by the persuasion of Archbishop Thomas Becket, placed in their room here seven priests as secular canons, and gave them the whole of the manor. After this, one of these canons having been murdered, four of his brethren were found guilty of the crime, and the two others acquitted" (Hasted, ii. 550). These pleasing little incidents of the "good old times" are related also by Sprot, in his *Historiola de Newynton*.³ Of the last, he says:—"Et in brevi tempore post, unus illorum fuit occisus inter illos, unde quatuor fuerunt culpabiles de morte quinti fratris eorum."

Here we have ample material for a large amount of holy influence: a martyred prioress, Saint Thomas of Canterbury for a patron, and a martyred canon. But proof or identification have we none. We do not claim for analogies the influence of facts. But, should the curative pretensions of our Newington monument be rejected, we will at least hope that the curious particulars above recorded may not be altogether unwelcome as illustrations of a wide-spread popular delusion.

² Cited in Stockdale's *Antiquities in Kent*; and compare Hasted. Stockdale has a very good near view of Newington

Church, taken from the north-east.

³ "*Fragmenta Sprottiana*," p. 163, ed. Hearne, 1719.

Original Documents.

PETITION OF THE PRIOR AND CANONS OF WALSINGHAM, NORFOLK, TO ELIZABETH, LADY OF CLARE. *Circa* A.D. 1345.¹

Communicated by the Rev. JAMES LEE-WARNER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich.

Notices which exhibit unmistakeably the feeling of past ages are among the most valuable contributions to archæology; and it is with this idea that I bring before the Institute an original Document, hitherto unpublished—the Petition of the Prior and Augustine Canons of Walsingham to Elizabeth, Lady of Clare, imploring her to abandon her project of allowing the Franciscan Friars to settle in their neighbourhood.

The dialogue between the Secular and Regular over the tomb of her mother, Johanna of Acres, at Stoke, in the Chapel of the Augustinians (who must not be confounded with the Augustines) exhibits, in a contemporary form, the ground of the hereditary affection which the Clares ever bore to the Mendicant Orders.²

“De Acris sic dicta Johanna,
Quâ cubat, hanc bellam fundaverat ipsa Capellam.—
Nupta fuit, necne?—Fuit immo.—Cui?—Mihi crede,
Gilberto Comiti Gloucestr.—Quis Pater illi?—
Alter Gilbertus.—Quis erat, mihi dic, Pater ejus?—
Nobilis, et nardus, redolens fuit iste Ricardus;
Qui, quos dilexit, heremitas trans mare vexit,
Ordinis egregii Doctoris, nomen et illi
Augustinus erat.”

Dominic and Francis of Assisi stand to the middle ages much in the same relation in which Whitfield and Wesley do to our post-reformation times. Ardent and sincere Reformers, they encountered obloquy and opposition from the patrons of those abuses against which they strove. In either case, the enmity engendered was left as a legacy to posterity, long after the first actors had made their exit from the scene. There was only this difference. In one case, the hostility found its expression in an open schism, and so burned itself out; in the other, the flame was smothered. The beginning of the strife was as the letting out of waters; but the Court of Rome diverted them most adroitly into under currents, presenting not unfrequently the outward surface of a smooth sea. The surface was a little ruffled in the case before us; but the respectful tone of the Petition indicates a latent feeling on the part of the petitioners, that their rivals had secured the favor of the noble Lady to whom they preferred their suite.

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the annual meeting of the Institute, at Bury St. Edmunds, July,

1869.

² Dugdale, Mon. Angl., Caley's edit., vol. vi. p. 1600.

The Petition is addressed—"A lour tres honorable et noble Dame de Clare." Not only was this lady the representative of an ancient family, which had come in with the Conqueror; but individually, she appears as a woman of mark in mediæval history. At the time of receiving the Petition, previous to 21 Edw. III. when she obtained the patent for foundation, she was a widow of some score years, and although she had buried three husbands, she still retains, upon occasion, her maiden name, as holding the honour and castle of Clare, which, with other lands and manors, including those at Walsingham,³ fell to her on the death of her brother, the last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, at the disastrous fight of Bannockburn. Then too, her mother, Johanna, was a king's daughter; and she for her own family had secured a royal alliance; inasmuch as her eldest daughter, Elizabeth de Burgh, her namesake, had married her cousin, Lionel, the third son of the third Edward, in whom the extinguished Earldom of Clare, Phoenix-like, revives, and even to modern ears is familiar in the title Clarence,⁴ as that of a royal Duke. She had also already endowed a college or hall at Cambridge:—Collegium, sive Domus, sive Aula de Clare; which, together with those of Peterhouse, and Michaelhouse, superseding old-fashioned hostels, made up the University, when other college there was none.

To this noble lady, the Prior and Canons of Walsingham, with much deference, addressed themselves, and they entered in their Priory Register not only the French version, but also the Latin original; for we may assume that the Norman French was the language in which the Petition was ultimately presented.

They advance seven reasons in as many separate paragraphs, why the introduction of the friars was fraught with danger to their monastery. Several of these paragraphs will require separate consideration.

First—a certain amount of tythes would lapse in perpetuity. And this they wisely put forward in the front of their remonstrance, because these tythes, given in the first instance by the founder of the Priory, had been confirmed by various Earls of Clare, almost from the Conquest. It was, indirectly, an appeal to the piety of the Countess, not to do anything which might reverse the intentions of her ancestors, not to take away that which they had given. And this mention of tythes may remind us of the contrast which old Fuller notices between the Saxon and the French fashions. "The Saxons generally endowed with solid and substantial revenues. But the Normans adopted a cheaper way, chiefly bestowing tythes,—often out of distant parishes. Such grants of Tythes were no better than felony;—taking the oil from the wick (the Pastor labouring in his Church) and giving it to the Thief or Waster in the Lamp, to which the idle monks may fitly be compared."

³ Two peculiar customs of the Walsingham manors are recited in the Inquisitio mortem, which bears date 34 Edw. III. "Item—est quedam custuma vocata Boage, quæ val' per ann. vi d. Item—est quedam custuma Wronsberingselver, quæ val' per ann. xiii. s. iiii. d." The first was a fixed payment for every head of cattle pastured on

the commons. The second probably an acknowledgment for trimming the "wrons" or lateral branches of hedge-row timber.

⁴ The etymology of the word Clarence has been variously accounted for. Perhaps it is best explained by regarding it as the English form of *Dux Clarensis*.

Passing from the foremost grievance, the Petitioners enumerate others of which they were apprehensive. The Confessional,—Masses for the Dead,—Offerings at Churches and at Burials,—all these were to the Priory and its churches a fruitful source of income, little, if at all, inferior to the tythes themselves. Confession to the Mendicant orders had been a standing grievance for the last 100 years. In the middle of the preceding century, the arrogance of the Friars had already excited the ire of the monkish Chronicler of St. Alban's, as an unusual novelty. In relating a passage of arms between them and his Archdeacon, A.D. 1246 :—"They came" (says he) "into a Parish fortified with Papal Letters, (privelegia) as if they had been Legates, or rather Angels of God. They would ask some leading Parishioner : Have you confessed ? And when the man replied, I have, to my Parish Priest : they would answer ; Who is the Idiot ? He has never attended a Course of Divinity, nor studied the Decretals, nor solved a question in Theology !" *

"And so," the historian adds—"Noblemen and the wives of Noblemen despised their Ordinary, and confessed to these Preachers. And very naturally ! They preferred to confess to a passing Stranger, who had never been cognizant of their enormities, and whom they were never likely to see again." The reader of Erasmus will observe in that graphic colloquy, the 'Funus,'—that the satirist in his vivid picture has been indebted to the older historian.

The petitioners have hitherto dealt with the intrusion of the mendicants, as if it were a private grievance ; but they now reinforce their array, by alluding to a controversy which has agitated all Christendom for more than a century. "*Juxte la sessioun del ordre des freres menurs ils ne poent riens avoir propre ne commun.*" The precise meaning of the word 'sessioun' is not quite clear ; but Pope after Pope in Council had affirmed that the Rule of St. Francis had most explicitly condemned the holding of any property, individually or collectively. To do the friars justice :—The time had never been that they agreed as a body, to disregard the intentions of their Founder. Some of them, not a few, had always protested. The Pope, by various devices, had endeavoured to keep the peace between contending parties. Nicholas III. in his Decretal, "*Exiit qui seminat,*" A.D. 1278, had permitted nothing more than the use of things necessary for mere food and clothing, the worship of God, and the pursuit of divine wisdom,—but not money. If a legacy were left to them, it must be laid out for them. And as to lands and houses,—he accepted the suggestion of his predecessors, that these, if held at all, could not be held by Francis, but must be held by Peter. This device, however, was far too transparent to satisfy the conscience,—and, in the end, John XXII. formally resigned possession of all that the Papal See, in behalf of the order, had held, and pronounced those heretical, who should say that Christ and his Apostles did not hold in common. Hereupon the Dominican Inquisitors deemed their vocation to commence ; and the very year of our Petition witnessed the extirpation of the Beghards, or Tertiary Franciscans, on the Continent of Europe—one of the darkest passages in the darkness of mediæval times.

But we pass to the next paragraph, the fourth, in the document ; and

* Matthew Paris, Eng. Hist., vol. ii. p. 138, Bohn's edition.

here we get a glimpse at the social state of Walsingham in our Pilgrim Fathers' days. It runs thus :—For the security of person and property, especially of the various jewels, which have been presented to our shrine by the very honourable Lady and her ancestors, the gates of our Priory are always closed by night, in consequence of the frequent threats of robbers, and their secret as well as open attempts. The pilgrims who arrive late are accustomed next morning to make their offerings, which probably they would not do, if intercepted by the friars. This regulation will account for the multitude of inns and hostleries which once existed in the town ; several of which by tradition may still be identified, or are preserved, as to their site, by local names. We may observe too, that the distinction between rapine and theft is retained by Innocent IV., in a Bull, wherein he confirms the privileges of the Canons. "*Infra claustrum locorum seu grangiarum vestrarum nullus rapinam seu furtum facere audeat.*" The same Bull permits the canons to celebrate mass with closed gates, when the realm was under an interdict.

The next paragraph of the Petition anticipates an unfavorable answer, which might be given to their request supposing that the friars were to propose some form of indemnity. If they do this, say the Canons, it must either be by a bond, or by a Bondsman, or by oath :—"per pignora, Fidejussores, vel per juramentum"—such are the Latin equivalents—*par serment, ou par gages, ou per plegges*.

Judging from the analogy of the ancient Court of Frankpledge, we may venture to assign "plegges" as the equivalent of "Fidejussores." In that case it represents a personal, as opposed to a valuable security. But the Canons include all under the same category. In a matter of this kind, they declare, no security could avail ; for the claim of the Apostolic See is utterly beyond computation ; no ordinary judicature, nothing but the Pope himself, or his Delegate, could adjudicate ; and the whole revenue of our Church must eventually be swallowed up.

Interesting would it be to trace the progress of this Document, including the feelings of the Chapter from whence it issued. Did hope or fear predominate ? They were not quite indifferent to intellectual pursuits. In spite of an occasional barbarism, their Latinity was at least decent. But in all these matters the Franciscan cloister enjoyed a much higher reputation ; and they could not have supposed that a lady, whose views on education already had been so clearly expressed, had not a higher motive than the mere establishment of a second religious house in Walsingham. And so their Petition must have been at best a forlorn hope. And the Friars' House arose in due course before them ;—if not on a scale to rival the magnificence of the older Diana,—still commensurate with the idea and probable intention of its foundress—still existing in its ruins, as a monument of her splendid and pious liberality.

PETITION OF THE PRIOR AND CANONS OF WALSINGHAM TO THE LADY OF CLARE.

(Register of Walsingham Priory, Cott. MS. Nero. E. vii., f. 152.)

A lour tres honorable et noble Dame de Clare, si la plesse, monstront ses humbles Chapeleyns, Priour et chanoyns de sa priourie de Walsyngham, que si nul leu deinz lour parosses de graunde Walsyngham ou petite soit grauntée a les freres menurs, ou as autres freres des ordres mendy-

saunz, a edefier, e en meismes le leu par vertu de cele graunte facent edificacioun, damages et diverses grevaunces avendront a la dite priourie nient¹ noumbrables, sullom ceo que parra en les articles sutzscriptes.

En primes, que en ledificacioun et aparail par les freres avauntiditz des mesouns et murs deinz leur parosses avauntidites, les fruitz de la terre et du leu, des queux dymes soloyent estre payez a leur priourie avauntidite, serront anenties a touz jours, pur ceo que la terre et le leu issint² edefiez serront amortiz en tele manere que de cel heure avaunt dymes de celes terres et leu ne avendront. Et issint serra engendree damage et prejudice perpetuele a leur priourie avauntnommee.

En meisme la manere autre peril tropchargeaunt avendroit si les avauntiditz freres deinz les parosses avauntidites fussent edefiez, habitaunz et chauntaunz, quar ils attreroient et aherdroient³ les parochiens des parosses avauntidites apurtenauntz a la dite priourie, et turneroient leur quuers⁴ de leurs eglises parochiales avauntidites, come en messes et confessiouns a oyers, issint que la ou meismes les parochiens de leur devocioun quele il portoient devers leurs eglises parochiales avauntidites, come en messes queles en les dites eglises soloient oyer, et par moultz des maneres des bienfaitz a leur eglises parochiaux succuroient, et a leur chapeleyns parochiaux, a queux cure de leur almes estoit bailliee, furent confes, tout outrement leur devociouns et leur bienfaitz avauntidites et autres choses, que de droit a leur eglises parochiales sunt tenuz a faire, guerpiron⁵ et reterront, aherdauntz au ditz freres, a damage de la dite priourie nient numbrable.

En meisme la manere, la ou les ditz parochiens leur messes soloient oyer de jour en jour en leur eglises parochiales avauntidites, en les queles eglises purificaciouns des femmes et sepulture des gentz communement eschayront,⁶ leur offrendes, queles de leur devocioun en jours de tieles purificaciouns ou sepultures feroient, par attrait des freres avauntiditz seroient reteres; de quoi la dite priourie et leur eglises parochiales avauntidites encurreroient damage saunz noubre, et les almes des ditz parochiens en grand peryl, et auxint moultz des autres droitures parochiaux les ditz freres turneront en leur oepe⁷ singulers, en prejudice des eglises parochiales avauntidites. Et juxte la session⁸ del ordre des freres menours il ne poent riens avoir propre ne commun.

En meisme la manere les portes dil avauntidite priourie pur agit, assaut et manaces des larouns sovent a la dite priourie faites, pur surte de leur personees, auxi avant come de diverses juels offerz de la tres-honore dame avauntidite, et des autres graundz, en honur de nostre dame seinte Marie, et auxi pur sauvacioun de leur autres avoirs, de nuytz sunt encloses, et en temps de pelegrinage a nostre dame seinte Marie prent soun cours taunt de nuyt come de jour, et quant il sunt venuz au leu avauntidit prenent leur repos tauntque al jour pur leur devociouns

¹ Nient numbrables—innumerable.

² "Issint, thus, so." Kelham, who gives also "isswit," in such manner. Issi, isite, ainsi, sic, ita." Lacombe.

³ "Aherder, aherdre, s'attacher, enlever, saisir." Roquefort and Lacombe.

⁴ "Quoer, queor, &c., cœur, esprit."

⁵ "Guerpir, laisser, se séparer, abandonner." Roquefort.

⁶ "Eschure, eschever, to avoid." Kelham. See also "Roquefort, v. Echever, eviter, exempter."

⁷ "Oepe, oes, use, benefit." Kelham.

⁸ In the Latin "juxta assercionem." Probably the declaration set forth in the Rule of the Order, and by assent of a synod or general assembly. See Ducange, v. Actiones.

faire a la chapele nostre dame avauntdyte, queles choses et ne feroient point de leger, si au ditz freres porroyent par quecunque voie succours avoir.

En mesme la manere plesse au treshonoree dame avauntдите entendre que touz les biens temporels ete spirituels par ses auncestres ou par autres gentz donez al avauntdit priour et covent ne suffireyont mie a les charges de lour dite priourie supporter par un dimy an, si des oblaciouns et devociouns des bones gens ne fussont eydez et succurruz, que a tout le poeir des freres avauntditz serroient reteres.

En meisme la manere fait asavoir que si les freres avauntdytz dyont¹ que il voillont eschure² les damages le ditz priour et chanoyns en les choses avauntdites, ceo serroit par serment, ou par gages, ou par plegges; et tieles cauciouns en cel cas a la value des ditz damages ne poent en nule manere suffire, pur ceo qe les droitures de seinte eglise ne poent estre estimeez. Et estre ceo,³ les ditz freres sunt persones exemptz, issint qe tout feust tiele surte par eux faitee de les cauciouns avauntdites, les ditz priour et covent de ceo ne averoyent avauntage ne succurs par nule ordinarie, si noun par le pape sul ou soun delegat; et ceo serroit chose impossible au ditz priour et covent a faire de chescune grevaunce faite a lour eglise en les choses avauntdites, de suivre al pape ou soun delegat, quar les fruitz ne les issues de toute lour eglise a tieles seutes faire ne suffiroient mie en cele partie, et issint lour eglise saunz remede a touz jours.

En meisme la manere il piert ben que les freres avauntditz ne covettont pas soulement de enhabiter le leu avauntdit pur lour proffyt, sil ne fust plus a graund arrerysment⁴ et destruccioun dil avauntдите priourie, pur ceo que a Brunham, quatre lewes de Walsyngham, a une part, ilia dz une mesoun des freres Carmerers tout pleyne, et a Sniterle, cynk lewes de Walsyngham, de autre part, une autre mesoun des freres Carmerers qui assetz occupent celes parties, par quoi a Walsyngham par nule voie ne poeit habitacioun des freres estre au proffyt ne avauntage de eux, sil ne tournast a lavauntдите priourie a perpetuele damage.

De queles damages et grevaunces avauntdites et autres par chauce de les avauntdites edificacioun et habitacioun des ditz freres avenyrs, plesse au treshonoree et noble dame avauntдите, dil avauntnommee priourie patrone et avowee, par voie de charite regard avoir, et sa priourie avauntдите en ses droitures, fraunchises et commoditees gracieusement eyder et meyntener, sicome avaunt adz estee eydee et meyntenue par ses auncestres et par lui, taunge en cea. Et humblement la priont ses chapeleyns avauntditz priour et chanoyns de sa dite priourie, ne la desplese, que si tiele novele charitee des ditz freres en le leu avauntdit edefier en volonte eyt conceue, que a si horrible prejudice et damage de sa dite priourie turnereyt, la quele priourie de plus anxciene charite et par tro grande devocioun des auncestres la treshonore dame avauntдите est fundee, que ele voillie de sa bone grace de cel purpos novel des ditz freres sa pensee nettement retrere en eyde et sauvacioun de sa dite priourie a touz jours.

¹ "Diont, may say." Kelham.

² Eschure, to avoid. Kelham. See the note on "Eschayront," *supra*.

³ "Estre ceo, besides this." Kelham.

⁴ "Arrerysment, hindrance, annoyance." Kelham.

Egregie et venerabili domine de Clare, si placeat dominacioni sue, monstrant sui sacerdotes humiles Prior et Canonici prioratus sui de Walsyngham, quod si aliquis locus infra parochias eorundem de Walsyngham Magna vel parva fratribus minoribus vel quibuscunque aliis ordinibus mendicantium concedatur ad edificandum, et illi ibidem virtute illius concessionis edificent et inhabitent, dampna inde et gravamina predicto prioratui contingent innumerabilia, ut in articulorum subscriptionum inspeccione patencius iminebit.

Primo advertendum est quod in edificacione et construccione domorum et murorum infra parochias predictas fructus terre et loci ex quibus decime solvi consueverunt consumerentur. Ac dicti locus et terra sic edificati confunderentur, adeo quod de cetero decime in ea parte non pervenient, et sic generaretur perpetuum prejudicium ecclesiis parochialibus antedictis.

Item advertendum est aliud periculum et magis ponderandum, quod dicti fratres infra dictas parochias sic edificantes, habitantes et celebrantes attrahent sibi parochianos earundem ecclesiarum et pervertent corda eorum ab ecclesiis suis parochialibus predictis, ut in missis et confessionibus audiendis; sic quod ubi iidem parochiani, ex devocione quam gerebant erga ecclesias suas parochiales, missas in eisdem ecclesiis audire solebant, et multis beneficiis ea occasione eisdem ecclesiis subveniebant, et se capellanis suis parochialibus, quibus cura animarum suarum committitur, confitebantur, ipsos ecclesias et capellanos parochiales in premissis et aliis quibus iidem parochiani dictis ecclesiis tenebantur et tenentur omnino relinquent.

Item advertendum est quod ubi dicti parochiani solebant audire missas suas quasi singulis diebus in ecclesiis suis parochialibus, quibus purificationes mulierum et sepulture hominum communiter accidebant, et oblationes suas ex devocione in huiusmodi purificationibus et sepulturis faciebant, per alleccionem ac verba blandiciosa et deceptibilia dictorum fratrum ecclesiis suis parochialibus predictis huiusmodi subtrahent, et sic dicte ecclesie parochiales eisdem et consimilibus defraudentur.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres occasione premissa multa alia jura parochialia convertent in usus suos singulares et communes, in prejudicium dictarum ecclesiarum parochialium, cum iidem fratres nichil proprium aut commune habere poterint juxta assercionem eorundem.

Item advertendum est quod porte monasterii dictorum Prioris et Canonorum de Walsyngham, propter incursum latronum et minas eisdem quampluries illatas, pro securitate tam personarum quam rerum, de noctibus clauduntur, quibus temporibus nocturnis, tempore peregrinationis durante, populi habetur accessus, qui quidem populus tempus diurnum pro oblationibus faciendis expectat, quod verisimiliter non faceret, si ad loca fratrum recursum haberet.

Item advertendum est quod omnia bona spiritualia et temporalia eisdem Priori et Conventui collata non sufficerent per medietatem anni ad onera supportanda, prout nunc, si dictis oblationibus in futurum carerent.

Item advertendum est quod si fratres predicti dicant se velle cavere de indemnitatem premissorum hoc esset per pignora, fidejussores vel per juramentum, et iste cauciones in hoc casu non sufficiunt pro eo quod jura ecclesiastica sunt inestimabilia, et ad hoc dicti fratres sunt persone exempte. Et si cauciones predictae essent commisse non succurreretur predictis Priori et Conventui nec alicui Rectori ecclesie per aliquem ordi-

narium, nisi per solum Papam vel ejus delegatum, et esset impossibile dictis Priori et Conventui vel Rectori pro quolibet gravamine ecclesie sue in premissis et circa ea illato proseguiri. Nam fructus et proventus ecclesie sue non sufficerent in ea parte, et sic eadem ecclesia sine remedio in ea parte remaneret imperpetuum.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres non possunt sibi adquirere nova loca absque licencia sedis apostolice. Et si fecerint sunt excommunicati, et ideo de hoc caveatur.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres locum infra dictas parochias seu earum alteram edificare et inhabitare non solummodo ad commodum suum intendunt, immo magis ad deterioracionem et confusionem ecclesiarum parochialium predictarum et prioratus predicti, quia apud Brunham, per iiij^{or} leucas a dictis parochiis de Walsyngham ex una parte distantem, constat habitacio fratrum Carmelitarum fratribus repleta, et apud Sniterle, ex altera parte per v. leucas ab eisdem parochiis distantem, alia habitacio fratrum ejusdem ordinis, qui satis occupant partes propinquas, unde nullo modo possent fratres de novo in locis premissis edificare ad eorum commodum, nisi verteretur predicto prioratui in infinitum dispendium.

De predictis igitur dispendiis et gravaminibus et aliis per edificacionem et inhabitationem dictorum fratrum in prefatis parochiis casualiter superventuris, placeat illustri domine predicte prenotati prioratus venerabili patrone caritatis intuitu respectum habere, et prioratum suum predictum in juribus, libertatibus et commoditatibus suis graciose auxiliari et manutenere, sicut per illam et antecessores suos hucusque manutentus et auxiliatus extitit, ne in edificacione fratrum predictorum nove caritatis presumpcio, dicti prioratus summa caritatis devocione prius fundati perpetua generetur consumpcio. Et si talem nove caritatis devocionem predicta domina venerabilis mente conceperit, que in perpetuum prejudicium dicti prioratus sui verteretur, ut in edificacione fratrum predictorum in locis predictis concedenda, suppliciter hanc rogant sui sacerdotes humiles Prior et Canonici prenotati, ut caritative propositum illud revocare dignetur.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

December 4, 1868.

The Very Rev. Canon ROCK, in the Chair.

Mr. J. HEWITT read some notes on a series of "Salades," chiefly of the fifteenth century, which had lately been acquired by the Woolwich Museum of Artillery, and of which he exhibited some select specimens. These notes have since been arranged so as to form a valuable memoir which has been printed in this volume, p. 20.

Major-General LEFROY spoke of the acquisition of these remarkable specimens of ancient armour, through the influence of the Consul at Rhodes, and he confirmed Mr. Hewitt's remarks upon them. They had been brought chiefly from Cyprus and Rhodes, where they had been left by the Knights of St. John, in 1521. Many had been sent to Constantinople, but these had been entirely neglected and forgotten. The present collection was the most perfect in the country, and especially valuable from the genuine history attached to these examples of a comparatively rare type of mediæval head-piece.

Mr. EDWARD SMIRKE drew attention to the seal of the Prior of Tywardreth attached to an instrument, of which particular mention had formerly been made in the Journal of the Institute.¹

Among many deeds and rolls relating to the large Cornwall property of the late Lord Arundel of Wardour, which had been committed to his care for examination some years ago, Mr. Smirke had found this deed, and had made notes upon it. These documents had been since in the possession of the late Dr. Oliver of Exeter, and after his decease, when they were proposed to be returned, the document bearing the Laocoon seal had been accidentally mislaid: it had subsequently been found and returned to the muniment chamber at Wardour.

Mr. Smirke's remarks upon the group engraved upon the seal, and the use of such a subject as the seal of the Prior of Tywardreth, have since been extended, and they form a supplement to the notices previously given.

Professor WESTMACOTT, R.A., highly commended the perseverance shown by Mr. Smirke in his search for the missing deed. With regard to the subject of the Laocoon, it was a favorite subject for artists to try their hands upon. The extended arm, as restored in the group, was not artistically good. The discovery of the group had been described by

¹ Seal set with an Intaglio of Laocoon, described by Mr. King, Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv. p. 45.

the son of San Gallo, the superintendent of public works. On the report of the discovery, San Gallo was ordered by the Pope to take the direction of the excavations. He was accompanied by Michael Angelo, who at once recognised the group as that described by Pliny. Still Pliny's assertion that the group was formed "ex uno lapide" was not true. The treatment of the subject varied much, and there was no direct authority for the restoration of the right arm, as now known. The probabilities that the real arm might some day come to light were not very desperate, not so desperate as, at one time, seemed the recovery of the Wardour deed with the Laocoon seal. The legend was well known; artists treated it as they pleased, and were not always influenced by Virgil's description. The seal was of value as an authority for the existence of the group with a different treatment of the subject, shortly after the discovery of the original. Professor Westmacott regarded the gem as probably of cinquecento execution.

Dr. Rock thought that the gem may be an antique production, probably Greek, no one being competent, as he believed, to produce so fine an intaglio in mediæval times.

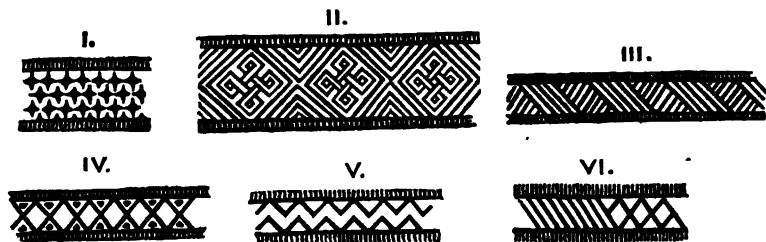
Mr. HENRY MOODY, curator of the Museum at Winchester, sent particulars of the examination, on 27th August *ult.*, of the so-called tomb of William Rufus in the choir of Winchester Cathedral.² Early in the month the Archdeacon of Winchester, the sub-dean, informed Mr. Moody that he intended to open the royal depository. According to tradition it was supposed that no remains existed in it, the bones of the Red King having been removed by Bishop Fox, about 1525, and placed in one of the mortuary chests around the choir, as stated by Gale, Warton, Dr. Milner, and other writers. The archdeacon further informed Mr. Moody that, in the event of finding the reputed tomb empty, he should cause it to be removed as an inconvenient incumbrance of the choir. Mr. Moody expressed the desire to be present at the examination, and he received special invitation to witness the proceedings. The massive coped cover, of Purbeck marble, having been removed, numerous bones were exposed to view that appeared to have been heedlessly thrown into the coffin, without care or order. The archdeacon, having thus been satisfied that the tomb enclosed certain bones, possibly, as alleged, those of the king, was about to cause the cover to be replaced. On Mr. Moody's suggestion, however, that some persons conversant with anatomical inquiries should be sent for, the whole of the bones were taken out by Dr. Richards, M.D., and arranged in order. The fragmentary relics were considered to be those of a single skeleton, no duplicate bone occurring amongst them. During the same day they were examined by two other medical gentlemen of Winchester, Mr. Mayo and Mr. Langdon; their conclusions were in agreement with the opinion of Dr. Richards.

The tomb is a block of Bath stone, the cavity having been chiseled out in the usual fashion; there are three drain holes in the bottom. This coffin was sunk about six inches beneath the present level of the pavement, as Mr. Moody supposed, intentionally, to conceal injuries that the base had suffered, possibly when the tomb was moved from its original

² A representation of this tomb may be found in Gale's *History of Winchester Cathedral*, pl. 8; Gough's *Sep. Mon.*, vol. i. p. 15; Carter's *Ancient Architec-*

ture in England, and in Murray's *beautiful Handbook*, pl. 5. Its position is well shewn in the view of the choir, Britton, *Winch. Cath.*, pl. xiii.

position under the tower ; on the exterior there are two perforations, probably for insertion of levers on that occasion. Amongst the contents there were numerous portions of thin sheet lead, fragments of a staff of wood, an ivory ornament that might have been the head of that object, with a few other relics, including a few fragments of narrow orfrays here figured.



The curiosity of the archdeacon having thus been satisfied, three weeks subsequently, and after much consideration, the fact more especially having been recognised that the tomb did not occupy its original position, it was removed from the choir to a spot between Cardinal Beaufort's chantry and that of William of Waynflete, opposite to the entrance to the Lady Chapel.

From the disorder and fractured condition in which the remains lay, it was inferred that the body had at some period been disturbed, removed from the tomb, despoiled of the leaden coffin and other accompaniments of the deposit, subjected to violence, and replaced ; few of the bones were missing, and no vestiges of any second corpse could be traced. The condition of the bones indicated moreover that the disturbance took place long after interment, but in no recent times. Amongst them were numerous pieces of red tissue, resembling the ground-work of velvet, also portions of cloth of gold ; two pieces of iron, that might have formed a spear or arrow-head, about nine inches in length, a number of pieces of flat cork, iron nails, nut shells, &c. A dozen portions of wood, showing a flattened, oval section, and partly cut, partly broken into pieces, might, as supposed, have formed parts of a hunting-spear or stout shaft. The relics, however, most deserving of notice were a turquoise as large as a haricot bean, the ribands or orfrays above mentioned, and a small, well-carved serpent's head, of bone or ivory, formed so that it might be easily attached by a rivet as the handle of a wand or sceptre of simple fashion. These last have been deposited in the Chapter House ; the bones and other remains were replaced in the coffin.

The general conclusion amongst those who took part in the examination seems to have been that the remains found within the tomb were actually those of the royal corpse. Mr. Moody expressed full concurrence in this opinion, as opposed to the traditional notion that the bones of Rufus had been transferred to one of the mortuary wooden chests placed by Bishop Fox on the stone screen that he erected about 1525 to enclose the presbytery. It has been alleged that Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, had first collected the remains of certain royal personages and prelates, interred in the cathedral, including those of Rufus, his uncle, and that he had deposited them, as stated by the chronicler

Rudborne, in leaden *cistæ* honorably disposed around the sanctuary. These were replaced, as above mentioned, by chests of wood, in the sixteenth century. Of these one appears to have been originally thus inscribed:—"Hic jacent ossa Cnutonis et Willielmi Rufi."³

Of the existing chests upon the screen, in their state as renovated in 1661, after they had been rifled in the Civil Wars in 1642 and the bones wantonly scattered, one bears the names of Canute and Rufus, Queen Emma, the Bishops Wina and Alwin.

In regard to the precise position occupied by the tomb of the Red King, in the original arrangement of the cathedral, considerable variance of opinion has arisen. The remarks of Professor Willis claim our most careful consideration.⁴ It appears clear that the corpse was brought in a cart from the New Forest to Winchester by a few countrymen, "*rheda caballaria*," and there deposited in the middle of the choir, under the central tower. "*Ibi infra ambitum turris, multorum procerum conventu, paucorum planctu, terræ traditum.*"⁵ According to Rudborne, a monk of Winchester, the spot was "in medio choro."⁶ A few years later, A.D. 1107, the tower fell, and the tomb was probably damaged in the ruins. The precise circumstances of the change of position have not, however, been ascertained.

The recent examination of the alleged tomb of Rufus, and of the relics brought to light on its recent removal, has subsequently been brought under the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, to whose well-organised researches at Silchester we have been indebted for discoveries of great interest. A full account of the relics of the Red King will be given, as we believe, in due time in the *Archæologia*; and archæologists may thus be enabled to form a decided opinion in regard to the vexed question whether the remains that have been brought to light were, in fact, as Mr. Moody and the local authorities appear to have concluded, those of the king, and also in regard to the expediency of removal, the tomb having been, according to his report, condemned by the Dean and Chapter as "an inconvenience and everlasting stumbling-block." Meanwhile, we may advert to Mr. Moody's assurance that the archdeacon, "in having caused the tomb to be opened, has rendered good service to history by disproving the statement made against the Parliamentarians by Gale, who has said that the bones of Rufus were chested; that is, placed in one of the mortuary chests," and he adds, "In the tomb of William Rufus, which was broke open by the rebels in the time of the Civil Wars, was found the dust of that king, some relics of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a small silver chalice." Mr. Moody remarks—"that the author wrote upon mere hearsay and without authority is clear; the fair presumption is that the unpretending tomb of the Red

³ See Dr. Milner's account of the mortuary chests, *Hist. Winch.*, vol. ii. p. 49; Warton, vol. i. pp. 40, 48. These depositories were examined in 1797 by Mr. H. Howard, of Corby, as related by Dr. Milner. *Ibid.* p. 50. Certain leg bones lay in that bearing the names of Canute and Rufus, without any skull. See in Mr. Murray's admirable *Handbook to the Cathedrals* a representation of one of the chests, part i. p. 16.

⁴ *Archit. Hist. Winch. Cath.*, pp. 35, 36.

⁵ *Gul. Malmesb. Gesta regum Angl.*, edit. T. D. Hardy, *Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 509. The tower fell on Oct. 7, 1107. *Arch. Wint., Angl. Sacra*, 1,297. See remarks by Professor Willis on this part of the fabric. *Archit. Hist. of Winch. Cath.*, published by the Institute, pp. 19, 36.

⁶ Rudborne, *Ang. Sacra*. t. i. p. 270.

King was not then opened nor was that mischief committed or those indignities offered which the Restoration scribes have been pleased to lay to the charge of the Puritans."

The whole subject seems to be involved in much difficulty. We await the result of further investigations by so able an archæologist as Mr. Joyce. Our friend Mr. Moody may not have been aware of the statement of Sandford, Lancaster herald in the reign of Charles II., noticing the pillage of the tomb at Winchester in the Civil Wars. He gives a plate representing the low coped coffin in front of the high altar as "copied from the original; which monument, being broke open by the rebels in the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles I. (as I am informed) was found to contain the dust of that king, some reliques of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a small chalice of silver." The ring, as we are assured by Warton, was "set with rubies said to be worth 500*l.*"⁷ A ring, stated to have been found in the coffin, is still preserved at Winchester, in the custody of the Dean.

Major-General LEFROY, R.A., gave the following account of a Roman inscribed tablet of considerable interest and spirited execution. It was found on the estate of Henry Cadell, Esq., on the line of the Wall of Antonine, and has been regarded as of special value, since it appears to indicate definitely that the barrier actually extended to the Forth.

"The legionary tablet, of which an excellent photograph is exhibited, was accidentally brought to light in April, 1868, in a potato patch forming the extremity, only a rod or two in extent, of a ridge of rock or natural promontory, perhaps the remains of a pier, which runs down to the margin of the Frith of Forth at Bridgeness, in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire. It was lying a few inches under the soil, face downwards, and when first cleared was taken for a smooth surface of natural rock. Whether it was then broken, or was fractured in raising it, I did not learn." There are remains of a dry stone wall or artificial scarp to the little promontory near it, but nothing which, apart from its connection with the stone, would suggest a Roman or even an ancient origin. A disused iron work close to the spot, with other buildings, has doubtless effaced other traces, if there ever were any, of the Wall of Antoninus. The inscription recording the construction of 4652 paces of the wall by the second legion, *Augusta*, is as follows:—

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO
HADRI · ANTONINO ·
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II
AVG · PER · M · P · IIII DCLII
FEO.

"The extraordinary sharpness of the letters and sculpture is apparent even on the small scale of the photograph, and suggests a doubt whether the stone, which is not of a very hard material (sandstone), can ever have been long exposed to the weather. I am inclined to conjecture that it was landed on the spot but never erected. The group on the left is a scene of Victory, represented by a horseman galloping over four

⁷ General Hist., p. 23, edit. Stebbing, 1707. The first edition of Sandford's valuable work appeared in 1662.

⁸ Hist. Winch., vol. i. p. 40.

⁹ This remarkable sculpture has been

photographed by Mr. Peter Dow, and copies may be obtained from Mr. Waldie, publisher, Linlithgow; carte de visite size, 1*s.*; or on a larger scale, 2*s.*, post free.

prostrate Caledonians,—one of them has been decapitated, another has a spear in his body, a third is in an attitude of anguish. They are all entirely naked. Their shields are of rectangular form with a large circular umbo hollowed for a single hand-grasp. Their weapons are spears, but one has a sword of a form closely resembling the earliest Saxon weapons. The horseman's weapon is a short spear with heart-shaped point. On the other side we have a sacrificial scene, the animals provided being a bull, a sheep, and a hog. Their execution is not in a high style of art, but by no means barbarous. The dimensions of the slab are 9 ft. by 2 ft. 11 in. This very interesting monument was, in September last, in the garden of Mr. Cadell of Grange, Bridgeness, who most kindly permitted visitors to see it, but will, it is to be hoped, find a place hereafter in some public museum."

Of numerous inscribed memorials of the second legion found along the course of the Wall of Antoninus, and of the barrier from the Tyne to the Solway, none presents features of interest and perfection in their sculpture that may compare with the workmanship of the legionary tablet brought under the notice of the Institute by General Lefroy. Several richly sculptured tablets commemorate the works executed in the time of Antoninus Pius, under the proprætor Lollius Urbicus, and on which the second, the sixth, and the twentieth legions were chiefly engaged. Of such inscriptions may be cited a remarkable stone found near West Kilpatrick, and presented about 1695 to the College at Glasgow; it is now there in the Hunterian Museum. It has repeatedly been engraved, and may be found in Horsley's *Britannia*, Scotland, No. 1, p. 192; see also another, *ibid.*, No. 111, found near the same part of the line of Wall, and likewise preserved at Glasgow¹. Upon this last appears a mounted warrior accompanied by Victory, with naked and prostrate captives beneath.² Many legionary tablets, including a considerable number of inscriptions that relate to the second legion and their operations in Northumberland and the adjoining county, *per lineam valli*, may be found in Dr. Collingwood Bruce's valuable work on the Roman Wall.

The value of the inscription found at Bridgeness is greatly enhanced by the circumstance that it may be regarded as marking the place where the Wall of Antoninus terminated on the east; the discovery may thus settle what had been regarded as doubtful. We have the satisfaction of stating that the tablet has been presented by Mr. Henry Cadell of Grange, on whose estate it was found, to the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. A memoir on the full import of the discovery will be soon communicated to that Society by Sir James Simpson, Bart.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich.—Two casts in plaster of Paris from small images of jet, as supposed, representing the Apostle St. James the Greater in the garb of a pilgrim, as usually portrayed. These objects were found in Switzerland; and may possibly have been *signacula* given to pilgrims who visited

¹ See also Gordon's *Itin.* Sept., pl. 9, p. 50; Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, second edit., p. 202, pl. vii., where notices of many other legionary stones that bear

the name of the second legion may be found.

² Stuart, pl. ix., p. 306.

some noted shrine of the saint. About June last, Dr. Keller received two of these little figures from Father Gall Morel, a learned monk at Einsiedeln, the famous place of pilgrimage in the canton of Zürich, and not far distant from the southern shore of the lake of that name. Dr. Keller states that some antiquaries in Switzerland consider the material to be either English cannel coal or jet, which occurs in many parts of Europe but not in Switzerland. One of these *signacula*, here figured, was found near the chapel of the leprous pilgrims to Einsiedeln; it lay at a depth of several feet in turfy peat ("*dans la tourbe*"). St. James the Greater was regarded as the patron saint invoked by lepers, and all the leper-houses in Switzerland are called "St. Jakob's Siechenhäuser." Dr. Keller observed that, according to some persons, these *enseignes* might have been made for the pilgrims, and worn by leprous persons as a kind of amulet; whilst, according to others, they had been regarded as brought either from England or possibly from St. Jago di Compostella. The other specimen, of which a cast was sent by Dr. Keller, measures only one inch and three-eighths in length. Through the sides of that repre-



St. James the Greater.
Signaculum, as supposed of Jet.
Length 5 in.

sented there are, a little below the shoulders, perforations that may have served in attaching the *enseigne* to the dress. This image measures, in length, 5 in.; breadth at the feet, nearly 2 in.; thickness, 1 in. The general fashion and the dress are in both examples alike. The saint appears in the usual garb of a pilgrim clad in a long *esclavine*; on his head is the large slouched hat, the brim turned back and having a shell affixed to the fore-part; in his right hand he holds the *bourdon* or pilgrims' staff with a hook, to which is appended a triangular-shaped wallet; in the left hand there is a book, probably the Gospel, borne by the saint as an Apostle. The hair is long at the sides, the beard quaintly arranged in parallel locks. The feet are bare. The scallop-shell seems to have been properly obtained by pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; Piers Plowman especially names the "shelles of Galice," and several popes granted to the archbishops of that city a faculty to excommunicate all persons who should sell such shells elsewhere to pilgrims. The "Santiago" of Compostella is still in high estimation. In Mr. Roach Smith's collection of London Antiquities, now in the British Museum, there is a shell of jet mounted in silver, doubtless a pilgrim's sign from Compostella, and it is observed in the Catalogue that small images of jet, representing the saint, are of frequent occurrence, probably from the abundance of the material at that place.³ In the Inventory of pictures and sculptures

³ Catal. Mus. Lond. Antiqu., p. 141, where the shell of jet is figured. St. James the Greater is sometimes repre-

sented on a white charger conquering the Saracens. He thus appears on a beautiful *enseigne* figured Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.

belonging to Marie, queen dowager of Hungary, 1558, occur, "Un Saint Jacques de Jayet mis sur ung pied de meisme: Ung petit ymaige d'ambre de Saint Jehan, &c. Ung Saint Jacques d'ambre, le chief d'ivoire." Archives de Simancas.

Dr. Keller has stated the opinion of some archæologists in Switzerland that the images found at Einsiedeln are of a material obtained in England. The *gagates* of Britain was doubtless in high estimation from a very early period, as we learn from Solinus, Pliny, and other ancient authors: relics formed of jet or of some of the various kinds of cannel coal, lignite, and the like, occur in this country with British and Roman remains, and also throughout the Mediæval period. The jet abundantly obtained on the north-eastern shores, especially at Whitby, has been regarded as having formed the chief supply. There seems, however, to be no marked indication of English workmanship in the images sent by our friend at Zürich. Jet is obtained also in quantities in France, at St. Coulombe, and other places in the department of the Aude, and it was imported largely thither from Andalusia, as we are informed by Professor Maske-lyne. As recently as the last century, 1200 persons there found employment in producing ornaments of jet; 100 cwt., as stated, being annually required: the amount in value sold, and which passed through Spain, was about 180,000 livres per annum. The Aragonese jet (*Azabache* in Spanish) was superior to the French, but in the ancient Languedoc the supply was large; at Chalabre and elsewhere (Aude), masses of as much as 15 lb. in weight have been dug out of the soil. It has been suggested that the curious images, of which we place an example before our readers, may have been supplied either from the south of France or from Spain, for distribution at the most noted resorts of pilgrims in Switzerland and other parts of Europe.

By Mr. S. J. MACKIE.—Rubbings from sepulchral brasses in Fairford Church, Gloucestershire. 1. The memorials of John Tame, Esq., and Alice his wife: he erected the church, according to tradition, to receive the painted glass captured by him in a vessel bound from the Low Countries to Rome, and that has lately been the subject of so much discussion as the supposed work of Albert Durer. He died in 1500. A memoir has been given in the *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses*, published by the Cambridge Camden Society (p. 115), in which all particulars that have been collected regarding the founder of Fairford Church are given, with a description of the windows.⁴ The brasses are there figured.—2. Sir Edmund Tame, son of the last; Agnes his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Greville, and their children. He finished the church at Fairford, and built two others.—3. A second memorial of Sir Edmund Tame; on the first, of large dimensions, he appears in a tabard of arms between his two wives, in heraldic mantles; the second is a small mural brass, with the three figures kneeling. Sir Edmund died in 1534.

By Mr. WALTER H. TREGELLAS.—An elaborate MS. history of the rise and progress of the fortifications of Malta, compiled by order of the War Office, and containing, amongst many maps and views and fac-

Representations of the Saint in the pilgrims' garb occur often on the East Anglian rood-screens, see Dr. Husenbeth's valuable *Emblems of Saints*, p. 85.

⁴ From the old MS. first printed in Hearne's edition of Roper's *Life of Sir T. More*.

similes of Italian maps of the sixteenth century, one, with most minute details, representing the siege of Valetta by the Turks, in 1565.—Two photographs, views of the armoury at Valetta, and one of a rich suit of armour worn by the Grand Master, Valette, who planned and partly constructed the city that bears his name.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A series of helmets of the kind called Salades ; part of a contribution of arms and armour from the Turkish arsenal at Rhodes to the Woolwich Museum. These relics formerly belonged to the knights of St. John (or of Rhodes), and have never till now left the island. The Salades appear to be generally of the fifteenth century. One or two, however, of later type, may be of the commencement of the sixteenth century. The leading forms of these valuable acquisitions are given in the woodcuts that accompany a memoir by Mr. Hewitt in this Journal. See p. 20, *ante*. Mr. Hewitt illustrated the subject by drawings from sculptures, paintings, &c., showing the various forms which the Salade assumed as it passed through the cinquecento period, and its final transformation into the Close Helmet of the sixteenth century. The rarity of real examples of this defence renders the Woolwich series of especial value.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By Mr. E. SMIRKE, by kind permission of Lord Arundell of Wardour.—A document from the muniment room at Wardour Castle, having appended to it an impression, on red wax, of a remarkable seal used by Thomas Colyns, prior of Tywardreth, Cornwall, from 1507 to 1539, and set with an intaglio, a reproduction of the famous group of the Laocoon at Florence. See Mr. King's memoir on this seal, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxiv., p. 45. It had been noticed by Mr. Smirke in the *Monasticon Exoniense* by the late Dr. Oliver, Supplement, p. 5. The document, that has been preserved amongst the evidences relating to Lord Arundell's extensive estates in Cornwall, bears date A.D. 1529.

February 5th, 1869.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., in the Chair.

Mr. J. G. WALLER read a discourse on Mediæval Art, and the painted glass in Fairford Church. It has been printed in this Journal, vol. xxv., p. 192.

Mr. S. J. MACKIE communicated a few notes on Fairford Church, in connexion with the windows attributed conjecturally to Albert Durer. Some observations on the decorations of churches, both by mural paintings and painted glass, the introduction of various allegorical and scriptural subjects, in the treatment and selection of which a certain rule of ecclesiastical tradition may often be discerned, were offered by the Chairman, by Mr. R. Holmes, and Mr. James Yates.

Mr. J. E. WEATHERHEAD, curator of the Leicester Museum, communicated some particulars relating to a small brass matrix found at Leicester during the previous month, and deserving of notice on account of the unusual character of its device. An impression was sent for examination.

The seal is of circular form, diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, with an hexagonal handle ; the workmanship seems to be of the latter part of the fourteenth century, or commencement of the fifteenth. The device, roughly engraved, is a fox erect, wearing a mitre, and holding a crosier. On the dexter side is seen a bird, two others on the sinister side, behind the

fox, probably intended to represent geese, although the true proportions and ornithological character of these fowls are very ill represented. There is no legend around this grotesque device, which does not appear to have occurred on any of the numerous seals of the period, that present designs of burlesque character. A similar subject, it will be remembered, occurs repeatedly amongst the sculptures on the *misereres* or *patiences*, the folding seats in the stalls of cathedral churches and elsewhere. The grotesque subject of the Fox preaching to the Geese is to be found in the stall-work at Worcester cathedral, and it is not of uncommon occurrence. A similar ludicrous design was formerly to be seen in one of the windows of St. Martin's church at Leicester. This has now perished, but it has been figured by Nichols, in his history of Leicestershire, from a drawing by the antiquary Peck, taken in 1730. The subject was in the great window of the North Cross aisle; the Fox was there seen, without any clerical disguise or insignia, standing erect at a lectern, on the front of which his fore paws rested, and upon which lay an open service-book. In front was the feathered congregation; the geese listening with composure to the deceiver. Under this burlesque was profanely introduced a quotation from Scripture, that must greatly increase the surprise with which we regard the introduction of such a ludicrous subject in the decorations of a church, namely, the words of St. Paul, taken from Philippians, c. i. v. 8, with a slight alteration by which the irreverent use of the text is greatly aggravated. The inscription, as formerly to be seen in the window, ran as follows:—"Testis est mihi Deus, quam cupiam vos omnes visceribus meis." God is my record, how I long after you all in my Bowels. It may appear somewhat remarkable that this illustration of the conflicting spirit that existed between various orders, and especially between the monks and the secular clergy, should have been found in the stately church above mentioned, in the town where recently the curious little grotesque has been brought to light that is now submitted to the Institute. The device on the seal exhibited seems to present a profane satire against the prelates of the church, the fox being figured with episcopal insignia. It must be remembered, however, that the possible occurrence of an evil pastor, even in the highest grades of the hierarchy, was fully admitted, since we constantly see in mediæval works of art that represent the Day of Doom, episcopal and other eminent personages in the church driven away into the place of perdition. The curious subject of the introduction of grotesques on the carved stall-work of churches has been discussed by Mr. T. Wright in the Journal of the Archæological Association, and in his Essays on Archæological Subjects, vol. ii., p. 111.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. THOMAS Q. COUCH, of Bodmin.—I. A ring, or flat bead, of transparent white glass, found in a cairn of stones near Fowey. This specimen of relics to which the name—"Glain-neidr—*Ovum anguinum*," has commonly been given, measures rather more than seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; the diameter of the perforation is about half an inch; the glass is perfectly colorless, with a spiral thread of pale yellow or lemon-colored glass all around the circumference, so fused into the surface of the ring as to be perfectly level with it. The discovery of objects of this description in Cornwall has an additional interest, as it has

been suggested, not without probability, that the more ancient beads of glass, of varied colors, found in the British Islands, may have been introduced in course of barter by the earliest traders, possibly Phœnicians, for tin and other commodities. The traditional notions relating to the *Anginum* are well known; Borlase cites the statement of Edward Llwyd, that towards the Land's End amulets of that nature were still in vogue, and even that the Cornish men had a charm to compel a snake to form a Glain-neidr when pinned down by a hazel-wand.⁵ A series of beautiful beads, including specimens of the so-called Druidical relics, may be seen in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. pl. V. p. 46.⁶ These objects have been regarded as possessing certain physical virtues. They occur not uncommonly in Wales; many have been found in Anglesey, near Aberffraw, either plain, of rich blue color, or streaked; they were used, as stated, to cure cough, ague, and to aid children in teething. Beauties of England and Wales, vol. xvii. p. 255.

2. Four "Pisky grinding stones," specimens of the stone beads frequently occurring with Early British remains, and near sites of later occupation.⁷ Several Cornish examples are described by Mr. Couch in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*. These relics, measure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter by $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in thickness, with a central perforation about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. They are commonly termed spindle-whorls, or *verticilla*, and supposed to have been used with the distaff; but from the frequency of their occurrence it is improbable that they are relics of female industry; in the majority of instances they may perhaps be regarded, according to Mr. Franks' suggestion, as fastenings of the dress, especially in times when garments formed of skins were in common use. They have been supposed also to have been amulets, or to have served in some kind of game, such as that of tables or draughts. In Wales, and also in Scotland and Ireland, they have frequently been found. A full notice of such relics has been given in Mr. Stanley's *Memoir on Circular Habitations near Holyhead*, in this *Journal*, vol. xxiv. p. 249.⁸ In North Britain, these stone whorls are familiarly called "Pixy-wheels," and in Ireland "Fairy mill-stones."

3. A portable brass ring-dial, or *viatorium*, a convenient indicator of time, probably of the kind termed "Journey-rings." It was obtained from a cottager at Pelynt, Cornwall; a second was found in the same neighbourhood. On the inner side is engraved the distich:—

"Set me right, and use me well,
And i ye time to you will tell."

⁵ *Antiqu. of Cornwall*, p. 142.

⁶ These beads were in the collection of the late Mr. B. Nightingale; they supply a very instructive exemplification of the beads of various periods. See also an interesting notice by Mr. J. E. Lee, *Catalogue of Antiquities at Caerleon*, p. 52, pl. xxvii.

⁷ See a notice of these Fairy grinding stones by Mr. Couch, *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornw.*, vol. ii. p. 280; a specimen found in a cave, at Chapel Uny, has been figured by Mr. Blight, *Churches of West Cornwall*, p. 138. He states also that they

were picked up frequently near Zennor, and called "wheel-stones" by the children. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, second series, vol. iv. p. 170. There are several specimens in the Penzance Museum.

⁸ See also *Arch. Cambr.*, vol. xiv. third series, p. 413; a specimen found in Shropshire is figured *ibid.* p. 447. Of the numerous whorl-stones in the Museum Roy. Irish Acad., see Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 116; and many curious particulars may be found in Dr. Hume's *Ancient Meols*, p. 151.

Mr. Couch has described this ingenious little instrument in the *Reliquary*, vol. ii. p. 153, where it is figured. The mode of use is also explained by Mr. C. Knight in his notes on "As you Like it." The ring-dial was probably in use from the early part of the sixteenth century until the middle of the reign of George III., the latest makers having been, as supposed, Messrs. Proctor, of Sheffield. The "Journey ring," the proper designation, according to the *Vulgaria* of Horman, A.D. 1520, as we believe, of the portable dial exhibited, is not of rare occurrence. Petra Sancta, in his treatise "De Symbolis Heroicis," 1634; gives a representation of a *Solarium* of this description. An example was shown at the meeting of the Institute at York; several others have also been brought before the Society.* Mr. Akerman lately sent to the Society of Antiquaries one that was found at Abingdon, where he had seen several others. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, second series, vol. iv. p. 267.

4. A horn-book, that had been used in childhood by an old man who died at Polperro, about 1850, at the age of 90. It is a small oblong tablet of oak, upon which is laid a printed alphabet or "abece," covered by a piece of horn, and framed with narrow metal bands over the edges of the horn. The little printed leaf includes the minuscules and capitals, vowels, syllables, and the Lord's Prayer. Peacham, in his "Worth of a Penny," & Car. I., quaintly remarks, that "for a penny you may buy the hardest book in the world, and which, at some time or other hath posed the greatest clerks in the land, viz. an hornbook, the making up of which employeth above thirty trades." The late Sir Henry Shiffner, Bart., exhibited at the meeting of the Institute at Chichester, in 1853, a costly hornbook, mounted in silver. Professor Westwood has two; one of them with a mounted figure of Charles I., the other of the times of Charles II.; also an "abece," varnished, instead of being protected by horn. Another, with the figure of Charles I., is in the Museum formed by the late Mr. Bateman in Derbyshire; it is figured in the Catalogue of that collection, p. 192. A memoir on the Horn-book, with numerous illustrations, was communicated, in 1863, to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Kenneth R. Mackenzie, F.S.A. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, second series, vol. ii. p. 267. It will be published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xli. A mould in hone-stone, for casting metal substitutes for hornbooks, was found at Hartley Castle, Cumberland, the old seat of the Musgrave family; it is preserved at Edenhall.¹

5. An oval bronze medallion, in relief, of good and artistic execution, obtained in a cottage near Bodmin. It portrays some learned personage of Holland or Flanders, a physician, naturalist, or possibly a divine; his hair is in long curls, on the head is a skull-cap, the right hand rests on a skull, a tall vase of flowers is in the background; on a tablet above is the inscription—"Ætatis 37. Anno 1666. T. H. fecit." Mr. Soden Smith considers the work Flemish; it had been thought to be by J. Hameranus, a distinguished artist in bronze; he was, however, only 16 years old at the date of the medallion; a German, also, Johann Höhn, used the initials that occur upon it, but the execution is not in accordance with his manner.

* *Catal. Mus.*, York Meeting, p. 17. See a notice of such a dial with the maker's name, L. HANCOCK, found in Dorset, and exhibited to the Archaeo-

logical Association by Mr. J. T. Irvine, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1864, p. 263, vol. xix. p. 71.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., p. 449.

By Mr. E. SMIRKE.—A “glain-neidr” found in Cornwall, on the surface of broken ground supposed to mark the site of a leveled barrow, on the property of Miss E. Carne, by whom it was presented to the Museum of the Penzance Antiquarian Society. It resembles the specimen above described in possession of Mr. Couch, but it is somewhat smaller, and is ornamented with two parallel rings and an intervening spiral thread of opaque pale yellow glass. This bead, according to the information of Mr. T. Cornish, Secretary of the Penzance Society, was “found on the estate of Boscawen Noon, in the Croft in which the Boscawen Noon Dans Mén or circle stands, and in the midst of many barrows and other pre-historic remains, but not, so far as can be ascertained, on the site of any of them.” A large collection of “Druidical beads of various substances, forms and colors,” including probably some Cornish specimens, may be seen in the Ashmolean Museum; forty-four are enumerated in Mr. Duncan’s Catalogue, p. 123. These, or many of them, are doubtless specimens collected by Edward Llwyd, appointed keeper of the Museum, 1690. In a letter to Robert Davies of Llanerch, who had sent him a glass bead, he remarks that he did not know whether it were Roman “or referable to our Glain-Neidra, whereof I have now a tolerable collection picked up in Wales by the name of Crap an Aithreach; in the Low Lands by that of Adder Sten, and in Cornwall, Milpreve; these are as celebrated amongst the vulgar in Scotland as in Wales, but in England there is no talk of them excepting in the West of Cornwall. I am fully satisfied from Pliny’s account of the *Ovum Anguinum* that these were also Druid Amulets, and am apt to suspect that they had even in those barbarous times the art of making and staining glass.” Cambr. Reg., 1795, p. 320. See also his letters to Rowlands; Borlase, p. 142. The name “Milprev” (a thousand worms) seems, as Mr. Cornish informs us, to be now forgotten as applied to these beads, which are now rarely found. The country people have a vague idea that all such relics were charms.

By Mr. ALFRED SMITH.—A cup or basin of stone, found in 1865 under a heap of stones in the centre of a field on the west coast of Sutherlandshire. The stones were supposed to be the ruins of some conventual or ecclesiastical building. This object measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., outside diameter; height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the cavity or bowl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter; depth about $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. There is a little handle or ear at one side pierced,



Stone basin found in Sutherlandshire. Diam. nearly $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

the perforation being only sufficiently large to pass a small cord through it for the purpose of suspension. The material is a kind of soapstone; the bottom roughly rounded, without any base or foot. (See woodcut.)

This little vessel may have served for various household purposes; it is a specimen of a class of relics described by the older antiquarians as "Druidical patera," that have frequently been found in North Britain, in certain instances near standing stones and "Druidical" circles. Several of these basins are preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; some good specimens were sent also to the Museum at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Edinburgh in 1856.² In some instances there are ornamental mouldings or chevron ornaments; the usual dimensions are 5 or 6 in. in diameter. The material varies much, from stone of soft quality, such as steatite, to the hardest porphyry and granite, wrought with great labour. Specimens occur having the bottom flat; the handle is mostly perforated in a vertical direction, not, as in that here figured, horizontally. One, of steatite, found in a cairn at Drumkeek, near Aboyne, co. Aberdeen, was sent to the Society of Antiquaries in 1866 by the Marchioness of Huntley. Diam., $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; height, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. The handle is not perforated. Proc. Soc. Ant., second series, vol. iii. p. 266. These bowls have been described as drinking-cups, a purpose for which their weight and the thickness of the brim render them ill suited. In the Feroe Islands similar vessels of stone are still in use as lamps or chafing-dishes in which embers may be carried about, the only special difference, as Dr. Wilson observes, being that the handle is longer than in the ancient specimens. The late Rev. J. G. Cumming brought before the Institute a similar stone vessel found on the Seafield estate in the Isle of Man. In Ireland such objects seem to be rare; there is one of pot-stone in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, diameter, including the handle, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; depth of the cup, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. It is described by Sir W. Wilde as a drinking-cup.³

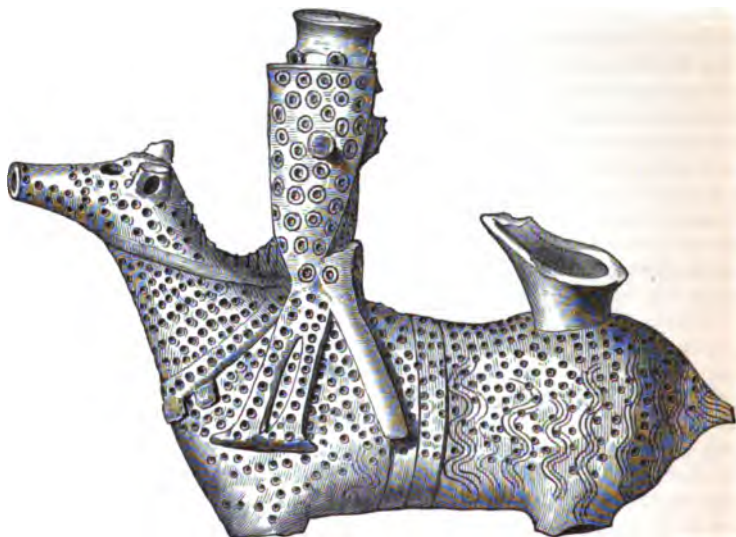
By Mr. E. T. STEVENS.—A remarkable specimen of green-glazed pottery, of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century, found about 1866 in digging foundations for a house at Mere, Wiltshire. It has been deposited in the Salisbury Museum. This relic, unfortunately in imperfect condition, was probably intended to serve as an ewer; several broken objects of the same description, of earthenware, have been found in this country; similar ewers of brass also exist, of which some appear to be of Scandinavian origin or use. The curiously-grotesque fragment, here figured, represents a mounted figure in the military equipment of the twelfth century; the flat-topped cylindrical helm, long kite-shaped shield with a boss, and the pryck spurs may be discerned, although the design is roughly worked out. The shield and also parts both of the figure and the horse are covered with small impressed circles, possibly in certain portions representing defences of mail; on the neck of the horse is seen the poitrail, with some ornaments appended to it; the flanks of the animal are ornamented with wavy lines and parallel bands, that may be intended to represent the bardings and girths of the equipment. The saddle has *arçons*, or high peaks, as usual at the period; at the right side of the figure there is a broad object, blunt-ended, possibly the

² Catalogue of the Museum, pp. 9, 20; Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. i. p. 115; Wilson, Prehist. Annals, second edit., vol. i. pp. 207—210, where several other examples are enumerated, and that of recent use in the Feroe Islands is figured.

It was presented to the Museum at Edinburgh by Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart. The Esquimaux use such a stone lamp trimmed with a moss wick set in lard or seal oil.

³ Catal. R. I. A., p. 114.

scabbard of the sword. The damaged state of this relic, however, renders it difficult to ascertain its original design and the action of the figure. By comparison with other ewers of glazed ware and of brass, the fashion



Fragment of an Ewer, of glazed earthenware. Date twelfth century.
Length 13½ in., height 9½ in.

of this object in its perfect condition may be approximately ascertained. The first fictile relic of this description brought before the Institute was found in 1846, at Lewes, in excavations for the South Coast Railway. It was figured in this Journal, vol. iv. p. 79, and is now in the Museum at Lewes Castle.⁴ The workmanship is rude; there are rows of irregularly-impressed markings on the horse; from the back of the figure a curved handle passes to a circular aperture upon the horse's rump. The remains of a similar arrangement appear on the figure above figured. By this aperture, doubtless, the vessel was filled, the liquid being poured out at the horse's mouth. A similar arrangement may be seen in an ewer of glazed ware found at Seaford, Sussex, in form of an animal, without any mounted figure, and possibly representing a stag. Fragments of a second ewer of the like description were also there noticed.⁵ Another portion of an ewer of dark-glazed pottery was sent to the Museum of the Institute at the Chester Meeting; two similar vessels also have occurred in Lancashire.⁶

⁴ See also Sussex Arch. Coll. vol. i. p. 45. It is given as an example of lead-glazed English pottery by Mr. Marryat, History of Pottery and Porcelain, second edit. p. 138.

⁵ Ibid., vol. x. p. 193. A fictile vessel, probably antique, in the form of a cow is there also given, obtained at Agrigentum; it may have been intended for the like

uses as the mediæval relics above described.

⁶ One of these, dug up in the churchyard at Winwick, is in the Warrington Museum; the other, found at Warrington, is in possession of Dr. Kendrick, of that town. It is figured, Trans. Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc., vol. x. p. 338, and minutely described by Mr. Syer Cuming,

There can be little doubt that such vessels were used in mediæval festivities as *gutturria* or ewers. These utensils were, however, more commonly of brass, in form of mounted figures, lions, unicorns, or other animals, and were used on festive occasions with chargers (*pelves*) or deep dishes, for sprinkling the hands of the guests and the like. The only mention of such vessels hitherto noticed occurs in the Fynchale inventories, in 1397 and 1411, where there are found "*in Aula—ij. pelves cum j. lavacro et j. equo eneo.*" A detailed list of vessels of brass of this description, including several in fashion of mounted knights, has been given in this Journal, vol. xv. p. 280, 282.⁷

By Mr. EDWARD HUSSEY.—An impression from a brass matrix found lately at Goudhurst, Kent, about three feet below the present surface of the road that passes through that village, and at the level of a former surface of the road, which had been raised in that part. The seal is of circular form; diameter, one inch and one-eighth; the device is a demi-lion and demi-galley conjoined, as introduced on several of the seals of the Cinque Ports, and ensigned with a crown. Legend, in black letter, * : Sigillū : custum' : de : Heth. Date, about 1400. This seal is in very good preservation; it has been published in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. p. 342. Mr. Faussett there observes that it appears to have been used in the business of the customs or dues of Hythe, and was probably the Portreeve's seal. Numerous seals of the Cinque Ports have been figured in Boys' History of Sandwich; those of the Sussex Ports have been given also in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. i. p. 14, and in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at Chichester on occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Institute. Amongst these one seal only occurs, namely of the port of Pevensey, connected with the customs. This is described as the Portreeve's seal; it bears two ostrich feathers ensigned



Seal of the Customs of Hythe. Orig. size.

with a crown; the legend is as follows:—S : the . custum . selle . of . the . porte . of . Pemse.—This seal has been assigned to the period when Pevensey was the fee of the Dukes of Lancaster, viz., from the grant

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1858, p. 91; a fragment of a knightly figure on horseback, found in London, is figured Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass., 1857, p. 132.

⁷ See Dr. Charlton's memoir on a knightly figure of brass found at Hexham, Arch. Æliana, vol. iv. p. 76; a paper by

Mr. Syer Cuming on mediæval vessels in the form of equestrian knights, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1857, p. 130, and a good Scandinavian example from the Copenhagen Museum; "*Lavatorier (Vandkar) af Bronze*;" Worsaae, *Afbildinger*, Nos. 405, 406.

thereof to John of Gaunt until the accession of Henry IV.⁸ Two seals of Hythe are given by Boys, p. 812; the common seal (*sigillum commune baronum*), and the seal used by the mayor. The recent discovery reported by Mr. Hussey supplies a valuable addition to this interesting series.⁹ The Institute is indebted to the obliging courtesy of the Kent Archaeological Society for the accompanying woodcut.

By Mr. RICHARD MEESON, F.S.A., F.G.S.—Antiquities of stone and bronze, Roman pottery and glass, found near Grays Thurrock, Essex. A celt of greyish flint, well polished, and a ring,¹ or perforated disc, of stone, diameter 3 in., thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (see woodcut). It had been pierced from



Hammer-stone, found near Grays Thurrock, Essex. Diameter, 3 inches.

both sides, and with an opening not truly cylindrical. The use of these discs, which are not of common occurrence, has not been satisfactorily ascertained. They appear to belong to the class of hammer-stones, by means of which, according to the Northern archaeologists, other implements or weapons of stone were chipped out and rough-hewn. These perforated relics are more commonly of flat oval shape, those of circular fashion are comparatively rare.² These two objects were found in deepening the bed of the Mardyke, a small stream at Stifford, a little to the north of Grays Thurrock.—A bronze leaf-shaped sword, a fine specimen, 23 in. long, and retaining two of the rivets for attachment to the hilt. It was found on the surface of the peat in the Mardyke, about half a mile below the spot where the stone celt and ring lay.—A bronze dagger-blade or short sword, here figured, of a type comparatively rare in England, and more frequently occurring in Ireland. It tapers only near the point; at the hilt-end are notches to assist in fixing it to the handle; there are no rivet-holes. It was found in the Mardyke, with the celt

⁸ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol i. p. 21, fig. 9.

⁹ Casts in sulphur or electrotyped reproductions of the Cinque-Port seals may be obtained, with many other Kentish seals, from Mr. R. Ready, British Museum.

¹ Compare one from the bed of the Thames, diam. 4 in., in the British Museum. See also a notice of another, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1861, p. 19.

² See oval hammer stones figured in

Nilsson, *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, edited by Sir John Lubbock, p. 10, pl. I., *Lindenschmit, Alterth. uns. Heidn. Vorzeit*, Heft 1, Taf. 1; Heft viii. Taf. 1, &c. A broken specimen found near a tumulus, Cliff Hill, Lewes, was in Dr. Mantell's Collection, now in the British Museum. These perforated stones have sometimes been supposed to be weights for fishing-nets.

and stone ring before noticed. No dagger of precisely similar fashion is figured by Mr. Franks in the *Horæ Ferales*, pl. VII. ; the Irish varieties are numerous, see Sir W. R. Wilde's *Catal. Mus. R. I. Acad.*, p. 462. Many types are figured by Lindenschmit, but in all instances the

Bronze blade found near Grays Thurrock, Essex. Length, 15½ in. ; breadth, 1 in.

haft was attached by rivets, two or more in number.³—Armlets of bronze, one of them of torque fashion, also others ornamented with chevrony patterns ; a small drinking-cup of black ware, and a similar cup of red ware faced with dark bronze-colored glaze, the body of the cup fluted. Each of these little vessels measures 3¼ in. in height ; they are remarkable as having, in each instance, a slight bronze penannular armlet, terminating in serpents' heads, encircling the upper part immediately under the rim.—A small basin, of dingy-brown ware.—Two Samian *patera*, a cup, and a moiety of a fine bowl of Samian ware, the last decorated with very elaborate designs in relief ; also some other portions of Roman *feculia*, including part of a *mortarium* of the usual white ware.—A small globular bottle, of white glass, height 3½ in.⁴ The Samian vessels were found in a gravel-pit at Grays, with numerous Roman interments in urns, some deposited in wooden cists of which no trace remained except the iron nails used in their construction. The little vases, so singularly encircled with bracelets of metal, and the *ampulla* occurred with an isolated interment on high ground ; no large urn was there found.—Fragments of a remarkable vessel of uncertain date ; it is of very coarse reddish-colored ware, and has a raised and notched rib placed vertically ; it was found at Grays, at a depth of four feet.—A portion of a large antler of the royal stag (*Cervus elephas*), as we are informed by Mr. Boyd Dawkins. The burr and lower extremity had been cut off with care and skill by some sawing tool. This antler was found, with a large quantity of bones, four feet below the surface, in marsh clay, at Little Thurrock, also in Essex. The whole of these curious relics have been presented by Mr. Meeson to the Museum of Practical Geology. He bought also a few other objects, a British gold coin, as described, of Cunobeline, Roman coins, a pair of bronze ornaments with moulded ornaments, two *verticilla* or spindle-whorls,—one of them of lead, the other of hard chalk,—found in an urn with the armlets and bones, supposed to be of a female ; these objects were obtained in the same part of Essex as the relics that have been described.

The neighbourhood of Grays Thurrock and the adjacent parish of Tilbury are full of remarkable vestiges, claiming careful examination. Mr. Meeson expressed the desire to invite the attention of archaeologists to the prehistoric traces mingled with those of successive occupation in the Roman and subsequent periods, occurring in the neighbourhood of

³ *Alterth. uns. Heidn. Vorzeit*, Heft iii. Taf. 3. See also *Projet de Classification des Poignards et Epées en Bronze*, *Revue Archéol.*, Mars 1866, a very valuable exemplification of the weapons of this description. It may be obtained sepa-

rately.

⁴ See a notice, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, second series, vol. iv. p. 11, of some other relics and horse's teeth found in the Roman burial-ground at Grays ; they lay in gravel, at a depth of 6 ft.

his residence at Duvals. Amongst these, he specially adverted to the deep cavities known as "Dane Holes," existing in every field where there is a substratum of chalk, and, he believed, originally formed in obtaining that substance for lime, as indicated by the frequent traces of burning that occur close to them; there seems, however, to be no doubt that the pits were afterwards used for other purposes, as for burial and concealment. One, that he had opened, contained a large number of Roman urns, but the roof had fallen in and crushed them. In the débris of bones and chalk Mr. Meeson found one of the *verticilla* before mentioned. The chambers in question, approached by narrow deep shafts, were first noticed by Camden, who gives representations of two such pits near Tilbury, ten yards deep. He refers to similar cavities near Faversham and in other parts of Kent, and supposes that they were cavities whence the Britons had obtained chalk to dress the land, as Pliny tells us.⁵ The "Dene Holes," or "Dane Holes," have usually been ascribed to the Britons; some antiquaries have inclined to the conclusion that they served as granaries; tradition has ascribed to them the designation of "Cunobeline's Gold Mines."⁶ Shafts and chambered cavities of the same description, in Kent, have recently been investigated by Mr. Flaxman Spurrell, and plans of a large number taken; it is hoped that the results of his inquiries into these curious early remains will be published by the Kentish Archaeological Society.

Meanwhile, as regards the shafts around Grays, to which our attention has been called by Mr. Meeson, the early British relics and numerous Roman interments, traces of prolonged occupation of that part of the Essex shore in Roman times, have brought before us evidence of no slight value and interest. About half a century ago the exploration of one of the mysterious cavities in Essex, known as "Dane Holes,"⁷ was undertaken by "a gentleman of the Cathedral of Canterbury distinguished for his taste for Natural History, and his knowledge of the antiquities of his country." He was accompanied in the perilous adventure by an eminent surgeon, in case of accidents; by aid of pulleys and ropes he effected a descent of seventy feet. The description of the troglodytic recesses that were explored is of some interest; the actual results were not conclusive; fruitless search having been made within the abyss for the second shaft that had, as alleged, descended to the nuggets beneath. The wily Briton had closed off from the Roman the access to treasures that might excite unwelcome avidity.⁸

From speculations and conjectures of the older antiquarians, it is pleasant to turn to more enlightened suggestions. We are indebted to Mr. Roach Smith for a short and very interesting notice of the caves or pits in Kent and Essex.⁹ The description of one of the

⁵ Camden, *Britannia*, p. 318, and his account of Kent, p. 236, edit. 1607. See the edition by Gough, vol. i. p. 313; vol. ii. p. 119.

⁶ See a dissertation on this supposed Essex gold-field in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. iii. pp. 51, 54.

⁷ It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the popular notion according to which these cavities have been sometimes associated with the Danish invaders as

places of concealment, or the like, is wholly untenable. The name may probably be derived from the A. Sax., *Denu*, a den, *vallis*, a hollow in hilly ground, &c.

⁸ *Camb. Reg.*, vol. iii. p. 55.

⁹ *Collect. Ant.*, vol. vi. p. 243, where a relation of an exploration of the "Dene Holes," in Hairymans Wood in the parish of Tilbury, is given, from the *Building News* of Feb. 1, 1868.

"Dene Holes" in the parish of Tilbury, the ground-plan of which resembled in outline a six-foiled flower, such as that figured by Camden, to which allusion has been made, and other details ascertained in this recent exploration, give a very distinct notion of these singular excavations. The shaft was about 3 ft. in diameter, and 85 ft. in depth. Mr. Roach Smith, with his wonted sagacity, points out a passage in Pliny's Natural History, hitherto overlooked, where, writing of the finer white chalk (*argentaria*) used by silversmiths, he states that it was obtained by means of pits sunk like wells, with narrow mouths, to the depth of 100 ft., where they branch out like the veins of mines. "*Hac maxime Britannia utitur.*"¹ Mr. Roach Smith adverts also to a remarkable inscription connected with the export of chalk from Britain in Roman times. It is a dedication by a successful dealer in that material, who, having prosperously transported his freights of British chalk into Zealand, where the tablet was found, duly discharged his vows to the goddess Nehalennia.

Mr. MEESON brought also for examination a small volume, containing 130 beautiful drawings with the pen, on vellum; the subjects forming a series of emblems of sentimental character, Cupids, and the like. They are thus entitled:—"Deuises dessinées à la plume S Par monsieur Rabel S," and, in a different hand, "given my mother the Lady Le Gros by Sr William Paston her neare Kinsman." It is supposed that the designs were executed by Jean Rabel, a French painter of portraits, flowers, birds, &c., who died at Paris in 1603. Some account of his works is given in the recent edition of Mariette's *Abecedario*.² Sir William Paston was doubtless the person of that name who died in 1610.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK, F.S.A.—A Runic Calendar, from Lapland, formed of six plates of bone, or walrus tooth, with the "Futhorc" characters; very similar to the wooden calendars noticed by Dr. Barnard Davis, M.D.; *Archæologia*, vol. xli. p. 459, where a list of many objects of the same description may be found, and much valuable information has been brought together, with representations of the Staffordshire "Clogg Almanac," and the "Runic Primstaff," from an example in the collection of Mr. Mayer, F.S.A. See also Mr. Harland's memoir "On Clog Almanacks or Rune Stocks," *Reliquary*, vol. v. p. 121.—Six ornamental silver spoons obtained, with one exception, in Norway. They have been described very fully in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, second series, vol. iv. p. 185. The five Norwegian specimens are of various dates, none perhaps much earlier than 1600, some of the last century; the bowls circular or obovate. The sixth was obtained in Lule-Lappmark, in the north of Sweden. It bears the Swedish array-mark, three crowns; the cross-keys, that are the guild-mark of the silversmiths of Lulea, the chief town of the district, situated on the N.W. extremity of the Gulf of Bothnia. There are also the year-mark, Z 2, and the initials—O L—being those of Olaf Lindahl, a peasant silversmith who worked there in the last century. This Lapp spoon is of peculiar fashion, that does not occur elsewhere in the North; it is usually carried by the Lapps in a small bag of reindeer's hide.

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. xvii. c. 8.

² Tom. iv. p. 232: Paris, 1857. See also the remarks by Mr. Watson, *Proc.*

Soc. Ant. Lond., second series, vol. iv. p. 214.

Archæological Intelligence.

THE first part of the first volume of the *Documenti Inediti per la Storia delle Armi da Fuoco Italiane*, collected, edited, and published by Captain Angelo Angelucci, the learned Director of the Museum of Artillery at Turin, is now complete. It begins with a "Specification of the arms and armour, munitions of war, and other things, plundered and carried off by the Pavesi after the capture of the castle of Robbio in January, 1203." This is preserved in the communal archives of Vercelli, from which are derived forty-four documents, all earlier than 1564. The archives of Como supply seventy-seven documents, commencing with 1418, an order that Zerbinus Bombardierus be supplied with all necessaries "*pro incessando sue incessari faciendo certas bombardas.*"

We have a trace of English Free-lances in the first document from the Comun of Bielli, dated 1377: "*Quantitates pecunie et alie res et bona per infrascriptos consignata de bonis habitis et captis tam in Castro Bugelle quam extra, ac de bonis Anglicorum tam in denarijs, armis, quam in alijs per comune Bugelle electis ad executionem ipsorum denariorum et aliorum bonorum et rerum vt supra habitorum fatiendum.*"

Modena and Ferrara present us with the earliest known mention of fire-arms, when the Marchese Rinaldo d'Este "*præparari fecit maximam quantitatem balistarum, sclopetorum, spingardarum et aliorum militum per terram et per aquam.*" The date is January, 1334. In 1346 we have "*Schiopum unum cum pulvere et [ferro causa] discrocandi, item veretonos quadraginta tres pro dicto Schiopo.*" These references will suffice to shew the treasures of historical information brought to light in this laborious work, which is admirably printed, and illustrated with numerous plates and facsimiles of early codices in the Ambrosian Library and elsewhere. The whole are accompanied by voluminous notes ranging over all questions connected with the archæology of fire-arms, the meaning of the barbarous Latin terms employed, and the contemporary history of the turbulent communities whose records have been so happily preserved. We sincerely trust that Captain Angelo Angelucci will meet the reception his labors deserve at the hands of English students.

It will be acceptable to those who heretofore enjoyed kindly intercourse with our lamented friend, the late Rev. J. L. Petit, and to whom he may have been known only as the accomplished artist,—the critical exponent, also, of the principles and history of Mediæval Architecture, both in our own and in continental countries,—to be informed that he has left a poetical essay of no slight interest and merit. This work, which unfortunately had not received the final revision and prefatory introduction by the author, has been given to the world under the editorial care

of his sister, the constant companion of his architectural studies and researches, by whose tasteful pencil also our Journal has repeatedly been enriched with valuable illustrations. The recently published *reliquiæ* of one, by whose cordial sympathy and liberality the purpose of the Institute has for so many years been promoted, are entitled, "The Lesser and the Greater Light;" the poem is accompanied by a portrait of our friend, a faithful and welcome memorial that cannot fail to be valued by those who had occasion to appreciate his cultivated taste and genial disposition.¹

We announce, with satisfaction, the completion of the *History of Leeds Castle, Kent*, by Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P. To many of our readers, those especially who availed themselves of the author's friendly invitation during our Annual Meeting at Rochester, in 1863, the great interest of Leeds Castle as an example of the military architecture of the fourteenth century is well known. Mr. Parker has given, in his *Domestic Architecture*, Part II. p. 284, some brief notices from particulars supplied, as we believe, by the present possessor of the castle, to whom we are now indebted for a monograph more worthy of the importance of the subject. The volume is illustrated by eight large photographs and numerous vignettes; the architecture of this once royal fortress is critically discussed, as well as its connection with the histories of several queens consort, with the great Kentish families also, Leyburn, Crevecoeur, Badlesmere, Bouchier, &c. This valuable contribution to Kentish archæology is published by Messrs. Nichols, imp. 4to., price 2l. 12s. 6d.

Announcement has been made, at Paris, of the proposed publication of a "*Revue Celtique*," a quarterly magazine for Celtic Philology, Literature, and History. The want of some ready means of communication on the special subjects to which this serial will be devoted, has long been recognised in the rapidly increasing pursuit of information that may tend to throw light on the obscure earlier periods. Much, doubtless, has been effected through the influence of recent annual international assemblies of scholars and archæological students of all countries, whose energies are devoted to prehistoric times. Of the results of their latest conference, namely, that held last year at Norwich, it is satisfactory to anticipate that the promised publication will very speedily be completed, and the annual volume issued to the subscribers.

The *Celtic Review*, which we now wish to bring under the notice of our readers, will be published at Paris (A. Franck, 67, Rue Richelieu) for subscribers only, whose names may be addressed, in London, to Trübner and Co., 60, Paternoster Row. The annual contribution is 1l.; the quarterly numbers, each of about 130 pages, will be forwarded free by post. A detailed prospectus, with a list of the eminent scholars whose assistance has been pledged to the undertaking, may be obtained from Messrs. Trübner.

It is with pleasure that we invite attention to the enlarged edition of the *Descriptive Account of the highly valuable collection of antiquities preserved at York, in the grounds and in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*. The extent and remarkable interest of the inscriptions, sculptures, mosaic pavements, and numerous minor relics both

¹ Published by Ball and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden; one volume, royal 8vo., 1869.

of Roman times and of mediæval date there combined, are doubtless well known to many of our readers. The manual, originally supplied by the late Rev. C. Wellbeloved, author of "Eburacum," a work in which more ample notices of many of the remains in the Museum may be found, comprises much matter of general interest beyond its value to the casual visitor of one of our richest and best arranged provincial museums. The fifth edition, recently published under the care of the Rev. John Kenrick, with considerable additions, may well claim a place in every library of reference, as a valuable auxiliary to the study of National Antiquities. It may be obtained from Mr. Sotheran, bookseller, Coney Street, York.

It is proposed to reprint (for subscribers only) the History and Antiquities of Coventry, by the late Mr. T. Sharp, F.S.A., a work of very great rarity and value. Twelve copies only were formerly printed for distribution to the friends of the author, who had access to the mass of curious matter preserved amongst the muniments of his native city, and also to copious stores in private hands. In the present edition will be added narratives of several Royal Visits, not previously recorded, with other historical matters of general as well as local interest. Subscribers' names should be sent to Mr. Lynes, Wynn Street, Birmingham; or to Mr. W. G. Tretton, Coventry. Demy 4to, 1*l.* 1*s.*; royal 4to, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1869.

PLEA FOR A HISTORY OF SUFFOLK.

An Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, held at Bury St. Edmund's, July 22, 1869.

By the Ven. Lord ARTHUR C. HERVEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Sudbury,
President of the Historical Section.

I WISH I could hope that the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Bury St. Edmund's would be the occasion of instigating some person capable to supply a great desideratum in archæology—a good History of Suffolk. Several partial histories exist, some of great merit, such as Gage's History of Thingoe, and Suckling's History of Suffolk (embracing the Hundreds of Wangford, Mutford, and Lothingland). We have Histories of Hawstead, Hengrave, Stowmarket, Bury, Ipswich, Sudbury, &c.; four volumes of the Proceedings of the Suffolk Archæological Institute, containing many valuable papers; the Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller; and several considerable MS. collections, Davy's, Jermyn's, Gipps,¹ &c., as well as very important materials for history in the registers, *consuetudines*, *extenta*, &c., of Bury Abbey; but Suffolk has never yet given birth to an historian who should collect all the scattered elements into one comprehensive history, and lay before the eye of the archæological world the rich variety of materials which old Time has spared, as relics of the past life of the South folk of East Anglia. And yet Suffolk is really very worthy of a good historian. There is a great variety of interest connected with it. If we want to penetrate into the duskiest corners, the deepest crypts of the history of our race, we have the flint implements in abundance, for which Hoxne

¹ See Sims's Manual, p. 220-222.

acquired the earliest celebrity. We have, just over the border, at the Grimes' Graves in Norfolk, one of those primitive Celtic villages—strikingly like that of Stanlake, near Oxford—which throws a melancholy light upon the social condition of the earliest known inhabitants of this island. We have a few Celtic words, chiefly names of rivers; we have ancient British barrows and other earthworks; we have British urns, and arms and other manufactured articles; all able to tell us something of the times before Claudius Cæsar brought Roman civilisation into Britain.

Even of the Romish occupation we have in Burgh² Castle, a monument scarcely less striking than Silchester or Colchester, or the Roman vallum in the North; and we have also distinct and interesting memorials in the Roman roads by which the Romans fixed their grasp upon the whole country of the Iceni. The main road from London is indicated by Stratford St. Mary's, whence it passed through the Stonhams—where Roman remains, pottery, pavements, &c., have been found in the last year—and Long Stratton, to the Venta Icenorum (Caistor). Another Roman road led from Stratford through Bildeston, Woolpit, Stowlangtoft, Ixworth, to Thetford (where its course is marked by the names of Norton Street, Fen Street, and Low Street), and thence on to *Branodunum* or Brancaster, the extreme station of the "*Littus Særonicum*." The road which ran from Dunwich, or rather the more ancient Dommoc (now in the sea), through Sibton, is said to be "in an extremely perfect state."³ The Icknield Street through Icklingham, where Mr. Prigg discovered copious remains of Roman occupation, in Roman pottery, &c., side by side with burial-places indicating neighbourhood to a British town, and other roads, all mark the completeness of the Roman occupation. In addition to the camp at Clare, remarkable Roman earthworks, on a very considerable scale, still exist at Lidgate, in the neighbourhood of which numerous Roman coins have also been found. I had the privilege of examining them with Mr. Harrod, and much regret that his design of making an accurate survey of these vestiges was frustrated. Other unequivocal ones may

² "Those who have visited the Zetland Islands are familiar with the description of castles called by the inhabitants *Burghs*, and by the Highlanders *Duns*." Note on Coningsburgh Castle, in *Ivanhoe*. God-

win (*Archæol. Handbook*, p. 23) considers Burgh Castle one of the most perfect Roman remains in the kingdom.

³ Introduction to Suckling's *Hist. of Suffolk*, p. xviii.

be seen at Stowlangtoft, Burgh (near Woodbridge), Bungay, and Blythburgh. Pavements, coins, swords, pottery, Roman burials (as at Rougham),⁴ are also evidences of the Roman period.

But when we come to the period which touches us more closely, as being that of the introduction of our own Anglo-Saxon race into the occupation and eventually into the possession of these shores, both the interest of the enquiry, and the materials for it, and, I may add, the need of it, increase largely. I cannot imagine a more interesting field for a searching investigation than the history of the colonization of Suffolk, which ended in the displacement of the Romanized Icenii by the Angles. The materials for such an investigation are, of course, chiefly the names of places, which, if properly handled, by some one combining an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Teutonic dialect, with a no less accurate knowledge of Teutonic mythology, and possessing critical acuteness and sagacity, with sobriety of judgment, might, I am convinced, lead to considerable results. But the evidence from names of places would be supplemented and corroborated by such scanty historical evidences as remain. I should like, for instance, to know what is the earliest mention of the division of East Anglia into the North-folk and South-folk; I do not think that either occur in Bede, and we know that for a time East Anglia formed one diocese. Suffolk became a separate Earldom first in the reign of Edward the Confessor, who bestowed it on Gurth, Harold's brother. The earliest mention of Suffolk that I have found is one in the ninth century (A.D. 895) in a charter of King Alfred—"Do et concedo totam terram meam in oppido de Frekeham (Freckenham) in pago Suthfolciæ, &c." All the other examples, and they are frequent, are in the reign of Edward the Confessor, in whose time the first mention of Norfolk in a charter is found. Coupling this with the erection of the separate Earldom of Suffolk at this time, it would seem that the distinction of the two branches of East Anglians, north and south of the Waveney, was not generally accepted till between the reign of Alfred and that of Edward the Confessor. In fact, this name of Suffolk

⁴ "The most remarkable (Roman sepulchral chamber) was discovered in the East-low Hill at Rougham, by Professor Henslow, in 1844." Godwin, Arch. Handb. p. 52. The contents, arranged exactly as

found, are in the Museum of the Suffolk Arch. Inst. at Bury, and the chamber itself is still quite perfect; an account by Prof. Henslow was given in the "Bury Post" of Sept. 20, 1844.

would seem to have come into general use about the same time as the name of Bury St. Edmund's for the old Beoderic's-worth ; and I may remark, by the way, that we are able to discover from the charters with singular precision the time and mode of this change of name. The ancient name was Beoderic's-worth ; the *worth* of the Saxon proprietor *Beoderic*. A certain Ædelflæd (late in the tenth century) left in his will some land "to St. Edmund's Stow at Byderic's-wyrde." In 945 Edmund, King of the Angles, gives to the monastery, situated in the place which is called "Æt Bederices-worth, where the holy King and Martyr Edmund rests," all the land around it, free from all charges and duties. About 958, Elfgar gives his land at Cockfield to Bedrickes-worde—St. Edmund's Stow. In 962, a certain Wulfstan gives certain lands at Palgrave to the Church of St. Edmund the Martyr, in the place called by the country people Bedrickes-urthe. In 997 Ædric gives land, half to St. Gregory at Sudbury, and half to St. Edmund at Bederices-wyrde. In 1020 Canute grants to the monastery which is called Beadrices-worde entire freedom from episcopal domination, and other privileges. But in the interval between Canute—when the first stone minster was built for the Holy Body, and the Benedictine monks were given absolute possession—and Edward the Confessor, St. Edmund got the better of Bederic, and by degrees the name of *St. Edmundsbury* became quite established in lieu of Beoderic's-worth. In all the charters and wills of Edward's time, it was always either simply St. Edmund, or St. Edmund's Church or Minster, but far most frequently St. Edmund's Bury, which has continued to be its name to the present day.

Another point connected with the early Anglo-Saxon names which is worthy of especial consideration, is the remarkably copious use of words designating the relative geographical position of different portions of the same people. I do not remember anything like this among the Semitic, Hellenic, or Latin tribes. We have East-Angles, West-Angles, Middle-Angles (Leicester), and South-Angles (Dorsetshire) ; East and West and South and Middle Saxons ; North-folk and South-folk, North-Umbrians and South-Umbrians, North-wich and South-bury (Sudbury), North Elmham and South Elmham, and a host of similar designations. This reference to the points of the compass seems to have been common to

the Teutonic tribes, as the wide-spread names of Northmen, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Austria, Westphalians, Sutherland, Sodor, &c., indicate ; but it would be interesting to trace and account for this peculiarity, and connect it with other features in the national character. Again, it may often help to indicate the course which conquest or colonization took, as for instance, I should infer from the name of Norwich that the Saxon invasion of these parts advanced from the south-east, and did not for a time extend north of Norwich. One might conjecture that Norwich and Sudbury were the northern and southern limits of the East Anglian settlement, for Sudbury was certainly not so called with reference to Bury St. Edmund's, since it was called Sudbury for at least two hundred years, while Bury was called Beoderic's-worth.⁵ Then again, a more exhaustive investigation of the different words which form the terminations of names of places would both be philologically important, and be a useful contribution to history. Take the name of the city just mentioned (Norwich). It teaches us at once what history confirms,⁶ that the sea ran up so far in those days, for all the places which terminate in *wich* are on the sea, or arms of the sea.⁷ Dunwich, Ipswich, Harwich, Sandwich, Greenwich, &c. Is not this the same termination as Sleswig? But whether it is the same root as *oikos* and *vicus*, and why it is specially applied to places on the sea, I know not. Mr. Gordon Hill's able memoir on Bury⁸ brings before us doubts as to the exact meaning of the termination *worth* (weorth, wryth, worthig)⁹ in Beoderick's-worth, Ickworth, Horningsworth, Halesworth, Hepworth, and numerous other places. What are the distinctive features of stows (is stow always a burial-place?),¹ byrigs, burghs, tuns, and steads, respectively? These and

⁵ Sudbury, as far as I know, is first named in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 797. "Bishop Alfun died at Sudbury." In the charters numbered 685, 699 (Cod. Dipl. A.S.), both of the latter half of the tenth century, Bederic's-worth and Sudbury are named side by side.

⁶ "This year came Sweyn with his fleet to Norwich, and entirely spoiled and burnt the town." A. S. Chron. A.D. 1004. I am informed that anchors and other marine articles are found still more inland.

⁷ Certainly all in East Anglia, and, as a rule, all over England. Droitwich and

Nantwich are famous for their salt-works, which gives some colour to the idea that there is a second *wic*, meaning a marsh. Bosworth gives to *wic* the sense of a place of security for boats.

⁸ Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. xxii. p. 32, 104.

⁹ It is compared with *Donauwerth*, *Kaiserswerth*, &c., and thought to mean a piece of land between two streams. Nonnen-werth on the Rhine is an island.

¹ The poor in Suffolk still use the expression "to bestow" for, to bury, as Shakespeare did, *Hamlet*, Act iii. Sc. ix., and iv., iii. See also Moor's Suffolk Words.

kindred points would throw considerable light upon Anglian civilization.

One other name of historical interest, illustrating the political condition of our Anglian forefathers, occurs to me. I mean that of the Hundred in which we are met, the Hundred and Deanery of Thingoe. In charters numbered 832, 915, 1342, 1346, in Kemble's "*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*," mention is made of the Dinghowe at St. Edmund's, in connection with certain dues which King Edward grants to St. Edmund. This at once brings before us the Ding—the ancient Scandinavian court of which we heard so much in connection with the last iniquitous Danish war—the Stor-thing, the Volk-thing—preserved in the name of Dingwall, Tingwall in Shetland, Thingwall in Cheshire, &c., and enables us to picture to ourselves the old inhabitants of our county going at stated times to the Thing-hill without the North Gate to pay into court the dues of sac and soc to the appointed officer. I should like very much to know whether this "Dinghowe" is, as some say, a monument of the Danish possession of East Anglia.²

Another most interesting field of historical inquiry opens before us in the moats which are so frequent in Suffolk. There is scarcely a parish in the county where there is not one or more moats. Some of these are stupendous works, as those at Chevington, Barrow, Rushbrooke, Kentwell, &c., and I fancy that their antiquity in some instances is very great. In some places there are moats which appear to have been the defence not of single houses, but of whole tribes. At Kenninghall, in Norfolk, there are several acres inclosed within a moat, in the immediate neighbourhood of the old Saxon palace. At Ickwell-bury, in the parish of Northill, in Bedfordshire, there are, I think, twelve acres protected by a deep moat and steep banks; and at Little Saxham, besides the moat which inclosed the ancient residence of the Crofts family, there is another moat adjoining which surrounds some two or three acres. From the name Saxham, contrasted with Denham, where are the remains of ancient earth-works still called the Castle, I conjecture that after the

² For an account of the Scandinavian Things, see Worsaae's *Danes and Northmen*, pp. 158, 221. Mr. Worsaae seems to consider the Thing as exclusively Scan-

dinavian, but Kemble speaks of it as an Anglo-Saxon institution (*Saxons in Engl.*, vol. i. p. 132, 135).

Danish occupation of East Anglia the Saxons entrenched themselves for safety within those waters.

Coming down to more modern times, I think that a good historian would find abundant materials for illustrating the domestic life of East Anglia in the numerous houses of our gentry, for which Suffolk was and is remarkable. Of castles, those picturesque engines of oppression, those interesting monuments of Norman tyranny and Saxon servitude, we have remarkably few remains. The great baronial castle of the De Clares, the huge mound and fosse which mark the site of the castle at Haughley, Orford, Messingham, the mound at Eye, and the castle at Denham, Framlingham, and the earth-works at Lydgate and Freckenham, of which nobody knows anything, are all that occur to me; and of these several had ceased to exist soon after the Conquest. But the moated houses where our gentry lived in their state, and exercised hospitality through many centuries, respected but not dreaded by their dependents, are, from their number and their quiet grandeur, quite characteristic of the county, and, I think, pleasantly and creditably characteristic. In the immediate neighbourhood of Bury, Hawstead Place, the seat of the Drurys, Coldham Hall, of the Rokewoods, Kedington, of the Barnardistons, Boxted, of the Poles, Melford Hall and Kentwell Hall, Barrow, of the Heighams, Denham, of the Lewknors, Hengrave, of the Kytsons, Culford and Redgrave, of the Bacons, Fakenham, of the Tollemaches, Rushbrooke, of the Jermyns, and Euston, of the Rokewoods, Bennets, and Fitz-Roys, teem with memories of East Anglian social life. A little further off, we have Helmingham, the seat of the Tollemaches, Playford, of the De Felbriggs and Feltons, Wingfield House, the seat of the De la Poles, Tendring Hall, Flixton Hall, Brome Hall, and innumerable other manor-houses, most of them moated, to tell us the same tale. Nor do I think that many counties can surpass Suffolk in the number of ancient families, which, though many of them may not have risen to great historic distinction, have yet been remarkable either for their misfortunes, or for their fruitfulness and long continuance, and for the succession of able and useful men whom they have reared for their country's service in Church and State. A history of those who have borne the title of earls or dukes of Suffolk, beginning with Gurth, coming down to the

ill-fated De la Poles, the royal alliances of the Brandons, and the tragic death of Lady Jane Grey's father, would alone furnish a sensational volume quite equal to any of Miss Braddon's. Then, even before the Conquest there were the Tollemaches, whose ancient manor-house at Bentley bore the distich :—

“Before the Normans into England came,
Bentley was my seat, and Tollemache was my name ;”

and whose name is found connected with so many parishes of Suffolk (Bentley, Fakenham, Hawstead, Helmingham, &c., &c.). Then we have the stately family of the De Clares, carrying the name of a small Suffolk town into the royal Dukedom of Clarence, giving its name to an Irish county, to a heraldic King-at-arms, and to a College at Cambridge. There was the great house of De Vere and De Ufford; then the Wingfields and De la Poles, the Waldegraves, the Willoughbys, the Glemhams, the Rouses, the Barnardistons, the Poleys, the Jermyns, the Cornwallises, the Norths, the Cloptons, the Heighams, the Herveys, the Feltons, the Brookes, the Drury's, the Cullums, the Springs, and, more recent as Suffolk families, though of great antiquity in the west, the Hammers, the Bunburys, the Bennets, and many others seem to open a fine field of genealogical history.

In connection with these families and their residences, great interest attaches to Queen Elizabeth's royal progress through Suffolk, in 1561 and 1578. “Albeit” (of the latter Churchyard writes) “they had small warning of the coming of the Queen's Majesty into both those shires” (Norfolk and Suffolk), “the gentlemen had made such ready provision, that all the velvets and silks that might be laid hand on were taken up and bought for any money, and soon converted to such garments and suits of robes, that the show thereof might have beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these many years. For, as I heard, there were 200 young gentlemen clad all in white velvet, and 300 of the graver sort appareled in black velvet coats and fair chains, all ready at one instant and place, with 1500 serving men more on horseback, well and bravely mounted in good order, ready to receive the Queen's Highness into Suffolk, which surely was a comely troop and a noble sight to behold.

And all these waited on the Sheriff, Sir William Spring, during the Queen's Majesty's abode in these parts, and to the very confines of Suffolk. But before her Highness passed into Norfolk there was in Suffolk such sumptuous feastings and banquets as seldom in any part of the world hath been seen before." In her first progress (in 1561) the Queen passed five days at Ipswich, and visited the Waldegraves, at Smalbridge in Bures; and the Tollemaches, at Helmingham. In the progress of 1578, the houses she visited were Melford Hall, the residence of Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls; Lawshall Hall (where she dined); Hawstead Place, the residence of Sir William Drury; Sir William Spring's (the High Sheriff), at Lavenham; Sir Thomas Kitson, at Hengrave; Sir Arthur Heigham, at Barrow; Mr. Rookwood, at Euston, and others, while Sir Robert Jermyn feasted the French Ambassador at Rushbrooke.

I will not now dwell upon the remarkable persons whom a good history of Suffolk would have to celebrate, because I hope to have an opportunity of bringing a few such to your notice on another occasion. But I should like to mention another branch of Suffolk family history, which it would be highly interesting to investigate, I mean the families of distinction in the United States of America, which emigrated from Suffolk, and gave the names of Suffolk parishes to their adopted land. The Wenham Lake ice bears the name of Wenham, near Ipswich. Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and his distinguished descendant, the Hon. Robert Winthrop, came from Groton, in this county.³ An interesting volume has been published on the other side of the Atlantic, entitled "The Brights of Suffolk," by Jonathan Bright, of Waltham, Massachusetts; he tells us that the emigrants from Suffolk, between 1630 and 1640, were "considered the best as to character that come to New England." Mr. Bright enumerates, as places in New England called from Suffolk parishes, "Acton, Boxford, Groton, Haverhill, Needham, Stow, Sudbury, and others," and, as Suffolk families, Fiskes, Brights, Appletons, Wards, Browns, Bonds, Springs, Coolidges, Livermores, &c. Adding the new world to the old, what a rich mine of family history a good county historian would have to explore.

³ See "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by Robert Winthrop, Boston, 2 vols.

The ecclesiastical history of the county is one which, if well handled, would throw great light upon the course of East Anglian Christianity, and that through a period of twelve or thirteen hundred years. Felixstow preserves in an unmistakeable manner the memory of the Burgundian Apostle who converted the East Anglians to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established his see at Dommoc, A.D. 627, and was, I presume, buried at Felixstow, though the histories say at Dunwich first, and Soham afterwards. The Flixtons seem to bear the bishop's name also. Sigebert's school for the instruction of youth, after the manner of the French schools, supposed by many to have been the origin of Cambridge, his patronage of St. Fursey, the Irishman who followed up the labours of Felix, the foundation of monasteries at Burgh and Beoderic's-worth, the labours of Bishop Cedd (a name perhaps preserved in Chedburgh), and then the singularly characteristic history of the Abbey of Bury, deserve surely a good historian. The way in which this great abbey drew round itself wealth and power, brought the most proud and haughty monarchs to tremble at its shrine—drew a considerable town around it, usurped all power over the town, attracted kings and queens and parliaments to its precincts, expelled all spiritual jurisdiction that it might reign supreme, became the chief secular power in the county, filled the place with some of the finest architectural triumphs of succeeding ages—Norman, Decorated, Perpendicular—beautified numerous churches in the neighbourhood,—made it an object of ambition to the greatest nobles to belong to its fraternity, and to be buried within its hallowed walls, and all this on account of its possessing the body of an obscure petty king of East Anglia who had been slain by the Danes, is a study full of instruction and of no little interest. And then came the introduction of different religious ideas, with a new spiritual power, and it is no less curious to see the rapid fading away of the wide-spreading tree, or, if I may alter my metaphor, to see the mortar which had bound all together loosening its tenacious hold, and privileges, and possessions, and power, and dignity, and influence, and wealth, all falling to pieces and crumbling into ruins like the buildings themselves, of which scarce one stone is left upon another which has not been thrown down. The decay no less than the growth of the monastic power is a subject

worthy of a philosophic historian, as being both curious phases of the human mind, besides that both movements bring us into contact with a variety of historical personages.

Nor ought I to omit to add that Suffolk has taken an important part in several historical transactions, and also was the theatre of several important movements deeply affecting the welfare of the country. The meeting of the Barons at St. Edmund's shrine preparatory to Magna Charta; the great riot in the reign of Edward III., and those in that of Richard II., under Jack Straw, in connection with the Kentish insurrection of Wat Tyler; the insurrection under Robert Kett, in the reign of Edward VI., in which the men of Suffolk aided their North-folk brethren; the decided part taken by the men of Suffolk in favor of Queen Mary's right to the throne of England, and in the struggle against the tyranny of the Stuarts, show that the men of Suffolk, however habitually quiet and unmercurial, were not deficient in spirit to resist any semblance of oppression, or in determination to stand up for their own rights and those of their lawful sovereign. With no less spirit did Suffolk take up the cause of the Reformation. Hadleigh contributed one of the most illustrious martyrs, in the person of Dr. Rowland Taylor, and numerous pulpits in Suffolk gave the clear ring of Scriptural truth.

I would make one passing allusion to the great change which has taken place in Suffolk industry, and to the lessons in political economy which may be derived therefrom. The wool and cloth trade, it is well known, was one of the chief sources of Suffolk wealth in the olden time. The rich clothiers of Suffolk present some of the earliest instances of that great industrial aristocracy which was to dispute the palm of wealth and power with the ancient feudal lords of the soil. At Lavenham we see the two typified in the two grand pews of the De Veres and the Springs, looking one another, as it were, in the face. The numerous towns in Suffolk—Hadleigh, and Lavenham, and Sudbury, and Nayland, and Stowmarket, and so on—owed their existence chiefly to this trade. Fuller states that "all the monuments in the church of Nayland which bear any face of comeliness and antiquity are erected to the memory of clothiers," and the ancient condition of the county, as evidenced in deeds of settlement, fines, wills, old maps, and so on, exactly cor-

responded with this state of things. There were extensive sheep-walks in uninclosed parishes, and the chief wealth of many landed proprietors lay in their flocks. Agriculture was then in its infancy ; the parings of St. Edmund's nails, and other relics, were more relied upon to avoid weeds in the corn and to secure good crops, than the art of good farming. But when the manufacture of cloth was drawn away to the coal country, and the wool trade consequently ceased to give employment to the population of our Suffolk towns, though we still continued to be a good wool-growing county, it became necessary to turn our minds and our hands to other branches of agricultural industry, and the result, not a little creditable to our determination and perseverance, is that Suffolk has become one of the finest corn-growing counties in England.

But I must conclude, and must ask you to forgive one whose affections are linked to Suffolk by a family residence of more than four hundred years, if he has been somewhat unduly profuse in setting forth Suffolk glories. If I have exhausted your patience, I certainly have not exhausted my subject ; and I can only reiterate the hope which I expressed at first, that some competent historian will be found to supply that great gap in archæology and topography to which I have alluded, and to illustrate the antiquities, the architecture, and the families of Suffolk, with the breadth of knowledge which they require for their true elucidation, and with the power and vivacity of description which will secure for them the attention that they deserve.

ALABASTER RELIQUARY FOUND IN CALDEY ISLAND, PEMBROKESHIRE, WITH NOTICES OF AN OBJECT OF THE LIKE DESCRIPTION EXISTING IN ANGLESEY.

THE coasts of South Wales, the island refuges also with which its rocky sea-board is so thickly margined, abound in vestiges of the earliest times when Christianity was introduced into that remote district of Cambria. It has been observed by the historian of Pembrokeshire, in noticing the conventual establishments of Tenby and its vicinity, and the ancient reputation of that town for sanctity, that every insulated rock off the coast had its cell and its anchorite.¹ If we survey the rugged shores, from St. Bride's Bay and the site of the Roman *Menevia*, we cannot fail to notice the frequent occurrence of sites hallowed by ancient tradition,—Ramsey Island, the resting-place of the missionary Devanus in the second century ; the ruined chapels of St. Nun and St. Justinian ; Capel y Pistill at Porthclais, the birth-place of St. David, and the Holy Well in which he received baptism ; St. Ishmael's, the reputed refuge of the anchorite Caradoc ; the curious hermitage also and healing Well of St. Govan, with numerous other sites renowned in the legends of Welsh hagiography.

As we approach the picturesque old town of Tenby, the peninsular reef of rocks presents itself, on which traces may be discerned of the chapel of St. Catherine ; to the southward are the islands of Caldey and St. Margaret's, or Little Caldey, about a mile from the shore. On the latter still exist remains of a chapel of considerable size ; whilst in Caldey, an island formerly fertile in corn and containing a population of thirty families, there are ruins of a conventual church and establishment of some importance,—the square tower, with a spire of stone, the nave, chancel, and other portions of the devastated fabric are to be seen, forming a picturesque object, with the vaulted refectory, as supposed,

¹ Fenton, *Hist. Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 437.

and venerable relics of a structure that appears to have been, doubtless for security on so perilous a coast, semi-castellated and embattled. The greater part was considered by Mr. Fenton to be of the age of the first monastic pile. The church, I regret to state, has been used in recent times as a brewhouse. There is also, near the road of approach from the beach, an ancient chapel, probably the same noticed in 1478 by William of Worcester, as dedicated to St. Mary, and in which, as stated by Mr. Fenton, there stood, not long before his visit to the spot with Sir Richard Colt Hoare, a baptismal font.²

The Priory of Caldey was a cell to the abbey of St. Dogmael in Pembrokeshire, a monastery of the Order of Tiron, or reformed Benedictines, instituted by St. Bernard early in the twelfth century. The first foundation has been attributed to Martin de Turribus, by whom the country of Cemaes was subdued about the time of the Conqueror; it was endowed by his son Robert Fitz Martin, whose charter was confirmed by Henry I. and his queen Adeliza, and is recited in the confirmation by Edward III. Amongst possessions enumerated by Robert Fitz Martin occurs the following:—"Dedit denique eisdem monachis mater mea insulam Pyr, quæ alio nomine Caldea nuncupatur, quam a domino meo rege michi datam matri meæ dederam, quod utique libens concedo." Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, vol. iv., p. 128; edit. Caley.

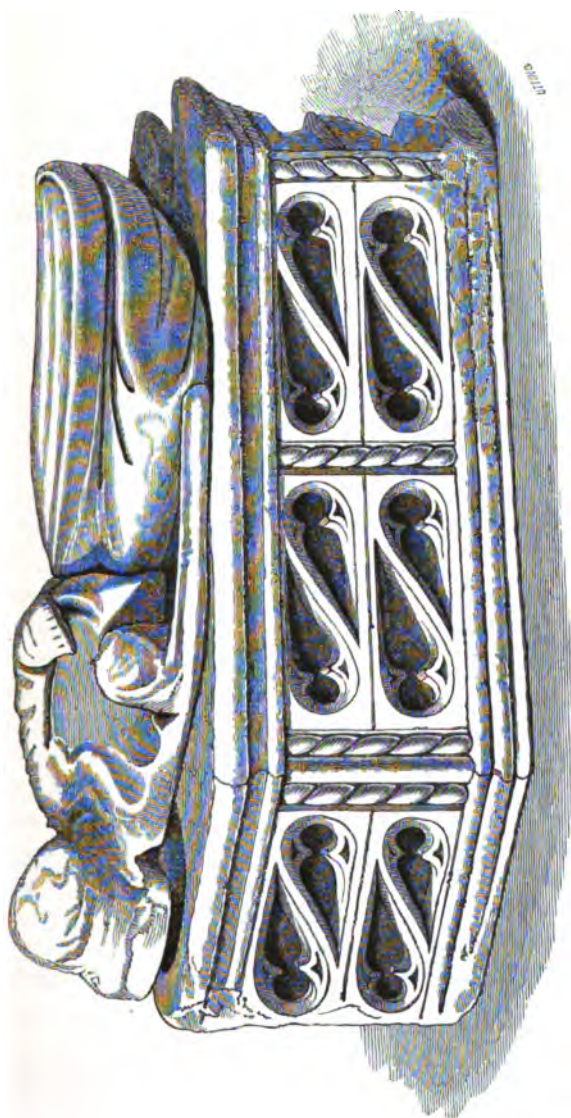
This ancient name of Caldey, it may here be observed, has been traced to Pyrrus, possibly a king of Britain, successor of Sawl Benuchel, according to the Welsh genealogists.³ Giraldus Cambrensis, who was born about 1146 at the castle of Manorbier, thus notices his birth-place:—"Distat a Penbrochiæ castro quasi miliaribus tribus castellum quod *Maenor Pyrr*, id est mansio Pyrri, dicitur; qui et insulam *Chaldei* habebat, quam Cambri *Ynys Pyrr*, id est insulam Pyrri vocant."⁴ Sir Richard Colt Hoare observed, in his notes on

² Ibid., p. 459. The notice of Caldey in the Itinerary of William of Worcester, edit. Nasmith, p. 155, is as follows:—"Insula Caldey sequitur proxima Shepey-land" (described as near Scopeholm in Milford Haven) "coram villa Tynbye per unum miliare; continet in longitudine i. miliare, et in latitudine dimidium miliaris, et est circa xxx. domos populates, et unum turrin, et cum capella sanctæ Mariæ super mariæ litus . . . ac ecclesiæ

prioratus de Caldey fundata cum amasiis sua." About 1600, in the time of George Owen, the Pembrokeshire antiquary, lord of Cemaes, the inhabitants had decreased, and were eight or ten households only. Owen's *Hist. of Pembrokeshire*, Camb. Reg., vol. ii., p. 127. They durst not keep oxen for fear of pirates.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, vol. ii. p. 165.

⁴ *Itin. Camb.*, lib. i. c. xii. edit. Camden, Anglica, &c., p. 851.



Alabaster reliquary found in the Isle of Caldey, Pembrokeshire.
In possession of Edward Kynaston Bridger, Esq.
From a drawing by Edward Blore, Esq., F.S.A.

Giraldus :—" Our author has given a very classical, and, I think, far-fetched etymology to this castle and the adjoining island in calling them the Mansion and Island of Pyrrhus ; a much more natural and congenial conjecture may be made in supposing Maenor Pyrr to be derived from Maenor, a manor, and Pyrr, the plural of Por, a lord, the manor of the lords, and consequently Inys Pyrr, the Island of the Lords."⁵ It has been likewise mentioned by Leland, as follows :—" *Mainopir*, i.e. Mansio Pirrhi, is now commonly cawled *Manober*, a Towne of howsbondry. The ruines of *Pirrhus* Castel there, many walles yet standyng hole, do openly appere and agaynst this Towne, or betwixt yt and *Tinby*, lyith *Inispir*, i.e. *Insula Pirrhi*, alias *Caldey*."⁶

I proceed to notice an object of somewhat unusual fashion, an alabaster reliquary,⁷ found some years ago in the Isle of Caldey under remarkable circumstances, and brought before the Institute early in the last year, 1868, through the friendly suggestion of the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, by Mr. Edward Kynaston Bridger, the present possessor of the island, and to whom the object in question belongs. I am indebted to him for the following particulars regarding the discovery. He was not, however, present on the occasion, but received the account from his cousin, the late Mr. Corbet Kynaston. That gentleman, formerly proprietor of Caldey, was hunting a wild cat that took refuge in a cavern in the face of the cliff overhanging the sea, on the side of the island which faces Tenby, not such a cavity as could possibly have served as an anchorite's cell, but merely a large hole in the rock. He proceeded to dig out the animal, and in this operation he threw out with the loose soil the little reliquary. When thus found it was in the damaged condition in which it is now seen, but there was much color remaining on the surface ; this decoration was unfortunately washed off, some years subsequently, by an over zealous housemaid. On the death of Mr. Kynaston, in 1867, this curious relic came into

⁵ Giraldus Cambr., vol. i. pp. 201, 204.

⁶ Leland, Itin., vol. v. f. 26. See also f. 75.

⁷ Carta 5 Edw. III. per Inspec., printed in Dugdale, Mon., vol. iv. edit. Caley, p. 130. Leland states that "the chauntor (*precentor*) of St. David's tolde me that one Martinus de Turribus, a Norman, wan the country of Kemmeys in Wales, about

the time of king William the Conqueror, and that this Martinus foundid the Abbey of St. Dogmael in Kemeis, and that he lyith buried in the quier there." Itin., vol. iv. p. 28 ; Collect., vol. i. p. 96. See also Fenton, in his notices of St. Dogmaels. The cell in Caldey is mentioned by Leland as "now suppressed." Itin., vol. v. p. 14.

the possession of his cousin. The cavern where it had been concealed has long since disappeared, the cliff at that spot having been quarried to procure the limestone of which it is composed.

There can be little doubt that the sculptured object thus found in the cavern on the coast of Caldey had been originally connected with some hallowed use, and that it may have appertained either to the church of the Tironian monks, or to one of the chapels that existed in the little island. It is probable that at the suppression of monasteries, or on the peremptory abolition of all church appliances designated superstitious, this alabaster shrine had been concealed in the hiding-hole where, by so singular a chance, it was at length brought again to light.⁸

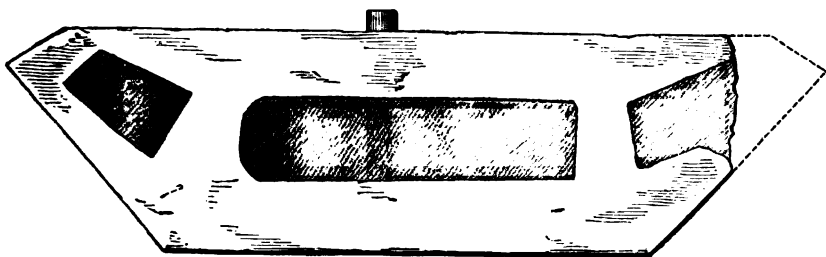
It is remarkable that, in so small an island, there were no less than three places devoted to Christian worship. Besides the more important fabric, the conventual church, there was the chapel, to which Mr. Fenton has alluded, situated, as I am informed by Mr. Bridger, about half way between the beach and the monastery. The walls only remained in the time of the late owner, by whom they were employed in the erection of a chapel and schoolroom for the use of the inhabitants. Mr. Bridger remarks that the original building, in which, as Mr. Fenton informs us, a font formerly was to be seen, may possibly have been a baptismal chapel, as suggested by that circumstance. There is, however, no spring of water near it, the only spring being that in the monastery in the centre of the island. The ground surrounding the little structure had been used for sepulture, human remains being abundantly found there. The site of another chapel, according to the same obliging information, is found on the south-eastern extremity of the island, where the lighthouse now stands.

The design of the alabaster object brought before the Institute by Mr. Bridger appears, as will be seen by the accompanying representation, for which we are indebted to

⁸ Caldey now abounds with rabbits. The wild cat and sundry like vermin seem in former days to have multiplied in the islands along the shores of the Principality. William of Worcester, writing of the "Insula de Meulx," the Mouse Islands on the north side of Anglesey,

mentions also the "Insula Lastydewale," as over run by such doleful creatures. "Non est populata nisi silvestres herbas, aves vocate mewys, kermerertes, et katones, et muscæ, id est mowses." Itin., edit. Nasmith, p. 154.

the constant kindness of Mr. Blore, to have been suggested by the fashion of the mediæval table-tomb and recumbent effigy.⁹ The base, or tomb, consists of an irregular four-sided piece of alabaster, the ends being beveled off so as to present a three-sided front, divided into four panels or compartments by upright mouldings partly worked with spiral ornament; each compartment is pierced with tracery of somewhat flamboyant character. There are traces of yellow color or gilding on the spiral mouldings or shafts that separate these compartments. The date may be assigned



Plan of Alabaster Reliquary found in Caldey Island. Orig. length, when perfect, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

approximately to the latter half of the fifteenth century. The dimensions of the base were, in its perfect state, about 8 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in height and breadth; some portions, one end especially, have been cut and broken away. Within the thickness of this base there are three cavities roughly cut; that in the centre measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by five-eighths, the depth of the cavity being $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. The other two cavities, one at each end of the base, are much smaller. The pierced openings already described open into these interior receptacles, as if to afford means of inspecting some relic or other object therein enclosed. For such a purpose, however, the small size of the openings through the thick front of the object seems ill adapted. Upon a separate piece of alabaster, that serves as a covering or lid to this base, is sculptured a recumbent effigy, apparently of a female; in its present

⁹ This object had been exhibited by Mrs. Gwynne at the Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Tenby, in 1861. Arch. Camb., new

series, vol. ii. p. 340. It was brought before the Institute at the monthly meeting in February, 1868, as noticed in this Journal, vol. xxv. p. 166.

defaced and imperfect condition it is scarcely possible to ascertain what may have been the action of the figure, the position of the hands and other details of the design; the head has suffered much, the hands and feet are wholly lost; the right knee is raised; the intention seems to have been to represent a person reclining on her left side or slightly turning outwards, that is towards the spectator. It is probable that there was a kerchief or hood thrown over the head, and here traces of red and of green color may be discerned. The loosely draped robe with wide sleeves is girt low, just above the hips; the mantle is shown on each side, its coloring has been effaced; some indications of its green lining diapered with cinquefoiled flowers may be seen, the latter expressed by dots of red and yellow. The back and under side of this reliquary are roughly dressed; it is evident that it was intended to be placed against a wall, possibly in a niche; in the back is inserted a strong iron pin, shown in the woodcut plan, by which it may have been firmly fixed in its place. The intention of such a miniature reproduction of a sepulchral tomb and effigy, according to the familiar mediæval fashion, is by no means obvious. I am not aware that any of the minor appliances of sacred use amongst the varied forms of the reliquary, has been noticed, of such a type, especially accompanied by the mortuary adjunct of the recumbent effigy. The shrine, moreover—the *lipsanoteca*, or depository of hallowed relics, was commonly portable, not affixed to a wall or the like; it was in fact a feretory, for the most part intended to be borne in processions or on other solemn occasions, and as such was one of the customary requisites for the furniture and ornaments of churches. The type of a *feretrum* is doubtless a coffin, those of most ancient form being simply the *cistula* or *capsa*, with a ridged top like a roof. In the present instance, the introduction of a recumbent effigy, as upon a tomb, in lieu of the usual ridged and crested covering of a shrine, is perhaps not material. It must be observed that the object, although it may be supposed to have been associated with some hallowed purpose, presents no distinctive indication of a sacred character; the figure is unaccompanied by any saintly symbol; it affords no clue to determine who may have been the person portrayed. The female costume and general aspect of the little effigy preclude the supposition that it

may have had any connexion with the only sainted personage, St. Dogmael, known as connected with the locality.¹ In default of any clue to its appropriation, the conjecture may appear by no means improbable that it may have been a memorial of the wife of the first Norman lord of Cemaes, Martin de Turribus, founder of St. Dogmael's Abbey.² By her gift, as we learn from the charter of her son to the monks of that religious house, before cited, they had been endowed with the island of Pyr, otherwise named Caldey. It has been suggested, not without probability, that the effigy may have been placed by the monks in much later times as a diminutive portraiture and memorial of the foundress. It may, moreover, deserve consideration that in several instances where the remains of persons eminent or venerated in their lifetime have been severed and distributed amongst monasteries and churches that they had endowed, or with which they had been specially associated, such partial deposits are often accompanied by memorials and effigies of diminutive proportions.

I have sought in vain for any other reliquary of precisely similar description, particularly as regards the incumbent effigy and obvious assimilation to the monumental memorials of the period. In the old church, however, of Llanidan, in Anglesey, there exists a little reliquary of stone that presents considerable analogy with that found in Caldey. It has been traditionally known as the Shrine of St. Nidan, or Aidan. Rowlands, the historian of Mona, who was Vicar of Llanidan, thus records its discovery there, in his *Collections for the Parochial Antiquities of the island*:—"Sub altari hic non ita pridem capsula lapidea reliquiis sacris onusta, cum aptato operculo ejusdem lapidis, cumque tribus ad latus ostiolis, desuper fornicatis, e cotariæ genere, blande et concinne formata, eruebatur, quæ jam omnibus visenda suo loco deposita est."³ Pennant, who visited Llanidan about 1780,

¹ St. Dogmael, Dogfael or Docmael, in Brittany called St. Toël, lived in Pembrokeshire, according to the legends, in the sixth century. He was son of Ithel ab Caredig; and has been accounted patron of several churches in Pembrokeshire, also of Llanddogwel in Anglesey. See Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 211; Butler, under June 14.

² The remains of the abbey on the banks of the Teify opposite Cardigan are

inconsiderable; they appear to show that the fabric was highly decorated and spacious. In the North transept there are two canopied recesses, in which, as appears by additions to Leland from Edward Lihwd's MSS., were formerly the effigies of the founder and of his son. See Fenton's account of the Abbey, *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 512.

³ The Latin original of this valuable Supplement to his *Mona*, has been pub-

thus describes this object :—"In the church is a reliquary, made neither of gold nor silver, nor yet ornamented with precious stones, but of very ordinary gritstone, with a roof-like cover. Whether it contained any reliques of the patron saint, a St. Aiden, of whom the venerable Bede makes such honorable mention, I cannot say. The church of Durham possessed his cross, three of his teeth, his head, and two griffin's eggs."⁴

This stone *capsula* has been noticed by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones in his valuable series of memoirs published by the Cambrian Archæological Association, entitled "*Mona Mediæva*"; it has also been figured in their Journal on a very small scale from a drawing supplied by Lord Boston, patron of the living, a zealous local antiquary.⁵ I am indebted to the skilful pencil of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, of Menai-fron, whose knowledge of ancient remains in Anglesey has so frequently aided my enquiries, for the careful drawing reproduced in illustration of this memoir, and also for the following particulars, with a plan or section of the *capsula*. The dimensions are 26 in. in length; the height to the ridge of the lid is, on the left-hand end, 17 in., on the other end, 18½ in.; the breadth is 14 in. The bottom of the little chest measures 3½ in. in thickness; the lid, a solid piece of stone flat on its under side, is moveable; it fits closely to the lower portion, but the mouldings of the front, with the exception of the two outer ones on the left side, do not coincide, or rather they do not seem to have been continued upon the front of the lid, which appears as if it had not been finished. It is difficult indeed to determine the arrangement of the upper part; the mullions may have been carried up square to their junction with the lid. On the left end,

lished with an English translation in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* from the MS. in possession of the Rev. John Jones, of Llanllyfni, Caernarvonshire. The account of Llanidan may be found *Arch. Camb.*, vol. iii. p. 297. See also *Ang-harad Llwyd's Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 287; it is there stated from Edward Llwyd's notice in the Sebright MSS. that the small *osteotheca* found in Llanidan Church in Rowland's time lay about 2 ft. under the ground under the altar. It contained some pieces of bone.

⁴ *Tour in Wales*, vol. ii. p. 228.

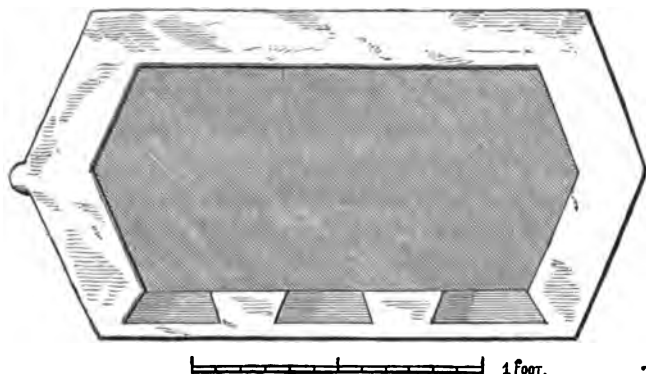
⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i. p. 429; third

series, vol. ix. p. 260. During the Annual Meeting of the Association at Bangor in 1860, the ruined remains of the old church of Llanidan were visited, and they were then in a very neglected state; the curious font lay in a dark corner, in another was the reliquary above noticed, broken and exposed to further injuries. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, vol. vi. p. 366. It is satisfactory to be assured by Mr. Longueville Jones, that through the care and good taste of Lord Boston these remains are now protected in a more suitable manner.



Stone Reliquary in the Old Church of Llandudan, Anglesey.
From a Drawing by the Rev. W. Wyn Williams. (Length 26 inches, height about 18 inches.)

or gable, there is a moulding at the angle, but none at the other end. The material is a fine-grained sandstone of rather bright yellow color.



Plan of a Stone Reliquary, Llanidan, Anglesey. Orig. length 26 inches, breadth 14 inches.

It will be noticed that in the two reliquaries that have been described the general type is the same, each presenting a certain assimilation to a tomb, in one instance accompanied by an effigy, whilst the other has the customary coped covering commonly designated *à dos d'ane*. In each also the front is pierced with openings through which possibly the contents of the little chamber within might be discerned. This arrangement, it may here be observed, is of rare occurrence in the sepulchral depositories of the Middle Ages that resemble these reliquaries, with the exception for the most part of their larger dimensions. A remarkable example has recently been brought before us by Mr. Hewitt, namely, an altar-tomb at Newington-street in Kent, the side of which is formed with an arcade of four panels with trefoiled heads, one of these arched panels being open through the entire width of the tomb.⁶ I may mention also an altar-tomb in Salisbury Cathedral, the sides of which are perforated by a series of oval apertures, so that on either side the space beneath the covering slab is open. These are very exceptional examples, and the latter may possibly be regarded as a variety only of the open table-tomb, of which many exist, having for the most part a nude or skeleton

⁶ It is figured in this volume, p. 160, *ante*.

figure on the lower stage and the fully clad effigy recumbent above.

The Llanidan reliquary had doubtless been concealed under the altar in the sixteenth century, when so many church ornaments and appliances were proscribed, and deposited in any available hiding-place. Edward Llwyd's MSS., in the Sebright Collection, contain the answers that he received from Rowlands regarding Llanidan and some other parishes. It appears that the learned topographer of Mona considered this "*osteotheca*" to be a "creirgist," a chest to hold relics, pieces of bone having been found in it. It lay at a depth of two feet. He supposed that it had belonged either to Llanidan, to Clunnog, or Llanddwyn, parishes in Anglesey.⁷

Mr. H. Longueville Jones has given a description of the old church of Llanidan in his series of papers in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, before cited, entitled "*Mona Mediæva*."⁸ It was one of the most important churches in the island, interesting from its architectural features and the traditions connected with it. "In an evil hour," however, as that zealous antiquary informs us, it was ruthlessly condemned. In 1844 the demolition of the church, a small portion excepted, was carried out. Thus unfortunately has been almost wholly destroyed the venerable fabric of which the Historian of Mona, for many years incumbent of the parish, wrote so pleasantly:—"*Ecclesia Sancti Aidani in loco maxime amæno prope mare sedet; fabrica quidem, præ antiquo construendi ritu, nec parca nec inelegans; cui nova, ducentis plus minus elapsis annis, ecclesia veteri intercolumniis unita adjecta est.*"⁹

It has been supposed by Pennant that the saint, under whose invocation the church of Llanidan was dedicated, may have been the Bishop of Lindisfarne, St. Aidan or Ædan, sent to King Oswald in the seventh century, as re-

⁷ Extracts cited by Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 287.

⁸ *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i. p. 430; the discovery of the reliquary is noticed at p. 433, and in a supplementary memoir, *ibid.*, third series, vol. ix. p. 260, where it is figured on a very reduced scale, and somewhat inaccurately. The western portion of the church still stands, serving as a kind of mortuary chapel, in which may be found the Norman font, the

reliquary, with other objects; the cover of the curious little chest has been broken, probably through careless removal. The neglected condition of these remains when visited by the Cambrian Archæologists during their Bangor meeting in 1860 is related, *Arch. Camb.*, third series, vol. vi. p. 368.

⁹ Rowlands' *Antiquitates Parochiales*, *Arch. Camb.* vol. iii. p. 296.

lated by Bede,¹ to preach the faith amongst the Anglo-Saxons of Northumberland. The Cambrian hagiographers, however, attribute the foundation of the church in Anglesey to St. Nidan, in the seventh century. He was Confessor to the College of Penmon in that island, and was commemorated on September 30.² Nidan was grandson of the celebrated warrior, Urien, who expelled the Gwyddelians in the latter part of the fifth century, and whose heroic deeds are celebrated by Llywarch Hên and Taliesin.³ The reliquary may, doubtless, have been the depository of certain bones of the founder of the church; but there is obviously no clue to the original intention of the object, which does not appear to bear the stamp of any very remote antiquity.

The parish of Llanidan contained an unusual number of early remains of remarkable "Druidical" character, that have been described by Rowlands.⁴ Some of them still exist, somewhat impaired by time and neglect. Of a few of the most interesting of these vestiges notices and representations may be found in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. There was formerly also in the church a singular object associated with mysterious traditions. This was the "Maen Morddwyd"—the Thigh Stone. It is first mentioned by Giraldus de Barri, in the Itinerary of his Journey through Wales with Archbishop Baldwin, A.D. 1188. In the notice of their visit to Anglesey he states that at a certain place there existed a stone resembling a human thigh, preserving this innate virtue, that when transported to any distance it returned of its own accord. He adds, that when Hugh Lupus invaded North Wales, he attached this locomotive stone by chains to one of larger size, and flung it into the sea; but next morning it reappeared in its place; whereupon the Earl made proclamation that no one should presume again to remove it. Some sceptical rustic, moreover, tested the Maen Morddwyd, by fastening it to his own thigh, which forthwith became putrid, and the miraculous stone quickly

¹ Bede, *Hist. lib. iii.*, de Vita Cuthb., c. 4; Butler's *Lives of Saints*, under Aug. 31. There was also a saint Aidan, bishop of Mayo, occurring in the Irish calendar under Oct. 21. He died A.D. 768.

² Williams, *Biogr. Dict. of Eminent Welshmen*, p. 357; Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 295. He was son of

Gwrryw, the son of Pasgen, son of Urien Dwynoel; Pedigrees in Rees' *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*; Welsh MSS. Soc., p. 596.

³ Williams, *ut supra*, p. 504; Myv. Arch.; Nennius.

⁴ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 87. See also Pennant, *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 229.

made its escape. The relation given by Giraldus of this strange popular tradition is as follows :—"Quoniam in hac insula digna memoratu multa reperies, quædam ex his excerpere et hic interserere non superfluum duxi. Est igitur hic lapis humanæ femori fere conformis, cui insita virtus hoc habet, ut spacio quantolibet asportatus proxima per se nocte revertatur, sicut ab accolis pluries est compertum. Unde et Hugo comes Cestrensis, qui tempore Regis Henrici primi tam insulam istam, quam terras adjacentes viriliter occupaverat, audita hujus lapidis virtute, ipsum alii lapidis longe majori ferreis catenis fortiter ligatum probandi causa procul in mari projici fecit : qui tamen summo diluculo cum multorum admiratione pristino more suo in loco repertus est. Cujus rei occasione publico comitis edicto prohibitum est, ne quis de cetero lapidem a loco movere presumat. Contigit aliquando rusticum quemdam experiendi gratia ad femur suum lapidem ligasse, sed putrefacto statim femore ad locum pristinum lapis evasit."⁵

The learned author of "Mona," who, as before stated, was Vicar of Llanidan about 1710, informs us that the "Maen Morddwyd" had been recently carried off by some unknown papist, its ancient virtue having apparently become exhausted and extinct. In the "Antiquitates Parochiales," recently published from Rowlands' MSS., the stone shrine or *capsula*, as already noticed, is described ; and we find also the singular folk-lore regarding the "thigh-stone" that had been preserved at the same place. Rowlands thus notices the latter :—"Hic etiam ille lapis lumbi, vulgo Maen Morddwyd, a Giraldo Cambrensi mire et copiose decantatus, in hujus cæmiterii vallo locum sibi a retro tempore obtinuit, exindeque his nuperis annis quo nescio papicola vel qua inscia manu (nulla ut olim renitente virtute quæ tunc penitus elanguit aut vetustate evaporavit) nullo sane loci dispendio, nec illi qui eripuit emolumento, ereptus et deportatus fuit."⁶

Camden, in his notes on the Itinerary of Giraldus, remarks

⁵ Gir. Cambr., Itin. Cambr., lib. ii. c. vii. ; Camden, Anglica, &c., p. 867. Transl. by Sir R. C. Hoare, vol. ii. p. 103.

⁶ Rowlands' Antiqu. Paroch., Arch. Cambr. vol. iii. p. 296. This valuable Supplement to the "Mona," is, as has been already stated, in possession of the Rev. John Jones, of Llanllyfni, Caernarvonshire. Ibid. vol. i. p. 126. The Thigh stone is noticed also by the Rev.

H. Longueville Jones, in his account of Llanidan, *ibid.* p. 429. One of the marvels of the Isle of Man was a stone that, when removed or cast into the sea, returned at night to a certain valley. Irish version of Nennius, cited Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xii. p. 141. See a like tradition, Bosquet, Normandie Romanesque, p. 173.

that William Salisbury, who was well acquainted with Welsh antiquities, states that the stone to which the foregoing passage relates, was to be seen in his time, namely in 1554, in the wall of the churchyard "*ecclesiæ D. Ædani in Mona insula.*" That learned writer and linguist was a native of Llanrwst, and, as Camden truly observes, "*Cambriæ antiquitatibus egregie versatus et de patria sua optime meritus.*" He translated the New Testament into Welsh in 1563.

In the report of the visit of the Cambrian archæologists on occasion of their visit to Anglesey during the meeting held at Bangor in 1860, it is asserted that the "*Maen Morddwyd*" is said to be at present fixed in a wall at Porthamel, on the shore of the Menai Straits, the supposed scene of the landing of the Romans under Suetonius, A.D. 61.⁷ Angharad Llwyd likewise assures us that it "is now well secured in the wall of the church" at that place.⁸ I regret to state that, according to recent information from the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, it is no longer to be found.

It may here deserve mention that in certain instances cists or small depositories have been found in the walls of churches of Wales, without any external indications, as customary, of a tomb. Mr. Wakeman relates that in 1847 the old church of Trevethin, Monmouthshire, was demolished in course of "restorations." In the centre of the south wall a coffer or chest was found about 8 ft. above the floor, divided horizontally into two parts, each enclosing bones. In the western gable also of Risca church, in the same county, similar deposits occurred built into the wall, without any indication outside. On either side of the tower there were cists, containing bones, in one instance with 20 or 30 beads of jet or cannel coal. These receptacles measured about 4 ft. by 2 ft., and were about 4 ft. above the floor.⁹

In concluding these notices of certain remarkable objects connected with the Principality, and especially of the reliquaries of unusual description brought to light in Caldey and in Anglesey, it may be observed that several other mediæval relics might be enumerated which have been brought to light from time to time in the Principality, having doubtless been displaced or hastily concealed during the iconoclastic fervor of the sixteenth century. At the annual meeting of the

⁷ Arch. Cambr., third ser., vol. vi. p. 367.

⁸ Hist. of Anglesey, p. 290. This is

an error; there is no church there.

⁹ Ibid. p. 311.

Cambrian archæologists at Llandeilo Fawr, in 1855, the late Mr. Walter Philipps, of Aberglasney, contributed to the local museum a "carved fragment of alabaster representing an angel kneeling and offering up a small box, apparently a *pix*."¹ It had been found in Llanllwny church, Carmarthenshire. Another remarkable object brought to light under similar circumstances is a *plaque* of enameled metal, of thirteenth century *champlevé* work, found in the conventual church of Penmon Priory, Anglesey. The subject is a demi-figure of our Lord, having a red cruciform *nimbus*, the right hand upraised in benediction, a book in the left. This production of the artists of Limoges possibly had doubtless been attached to a shrine, a processional cross, to the binding of a *Textus*, or the like. Enamels of this kind have been brought to this country in abundance of late years; few specimens, however, have occurred in England or Wales that had probably been in use before the Reformation.²

Whilst the foregoing notices of certain Christian relics in the Principality were in the press, my attention was called to a remarkable inscription found some years since in the ruins of the Priory at Caldey, and of which Mr. Westwood has published an excellent facsimile in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.³ It had been briefly mentioned by Mr. Fenton, who states that in 1810 it was lying in Mr. Kynaston's garden; the inscription in rude characters and much effaced; he could read the name plainly, and concluded that it had been the memorial of one of the early priors named Cadwgan; the stone, he adds, after its removal from its first position, had served the purpose of the lintel of a window; in such a position it had been last found.⁴ It will be seen that from palæographical evidence, although it has not been practicable to ascertain who was the person commemorated, the inscription must be assigned to a date much anterior to the foundation of the Priory in the twelfth century; it is of special value as evidence of Christian occupation of the Isle of Caldey at an earlier period. The memorial must, moreover, be regarded with interest in connection

¹ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 311.

² Ibid. p. 42, where this enamel is figured. It was also exhibited at one of the meetings of the Institute in 1855, and was described in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 97.

³ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 258. The "rubbing" from which the slab is figured by Mr. Westwood had been supplied by Mr. Mason, of Tenby. No allusion is made to the notice of the relic by the Historian of Pembrokeshire.

⁴ Fenton's Tour, p. 458.



Ⲅⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣ
Ⲥⲥⲓⲓⲛⲓⲕⲁⲙ
ⲑⲓⲛⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩⲟ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲃⲱⲥⲁⲙ
ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲛⲁⲩⲱⲩ
ⲓⲩⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛⲥ
ⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲙⲁ
ⲥⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ

with the foregoing notices of the *Insula Pirrhi*. Through the friendly courtesy of the Cambrian Archæological Association I am permitted to submit to our readers the accurate reproduction of this slab, that has been decyphered and drawn by Mr. Westwood. It is a valuable addition to his series of "Early Inscribed Stones in Wales," given in the above-mentioned Journal. He is of opinion that it may be ascribed to the ninth, or even possibly to the seventh, century.

Mr. Westwood points out the prevalent custom among the early Christians, to which I have already adverted, to establish their communities upon small islands adjoining the coast; free from sudden attack they could there pursue the objects of their existence unmolested. The great establishment of Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast,—the religious institutions on the Great Isle of Aran,—on Ireland's Eye, the Skelleg, and other islands on the Irish shores, may be cited as instances of this practice; Bardsey also,—the "Isle of Saints,"—the Chapel Island of St. Tecla at the mouth of the Wye, Barry Island, with many others have been celebrated in Wales for the religious establishments that existed upon them. In the inscribed memorial here figured with Mr. Westwood's skilful care, we have proof of Christian occupation of Caldey long before the period indicated by the architectural features of the existing ruins. The slab measures 5 ft. 9 in. by 16 in.; it is of red sandstone; of the upper portion three feet are occupied by the incised cross and inscription, leaving the remainder of the stone plain, apparently for the purpose of being fixed in the earth. The inscription is thus read by Mr. Westwood,—*Et singno [signo] crucis in illam fingsi [finxi] rogo omnibus ammulantibus ibi exorent pro anima Catuoconi*. The request to passers-by (*ambulantibus*) for prayers for the soul of the deceased is an early instance of such a formula. It is constantly found on early memorials in Ireland; on the crosses with Runes in the Isle of Man it never occurs, as stated by the late Rev. J. G. Cumming.⁵ *Catuoconus* has not been identified; the name may be a Latinised form of Cathan; a Cambrian saint of that name was known in Caermarthen-shire.

I must refer to Mr. Westwood's memoir for full particulars

⁵ Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xii. p. 253.

in regard to the palæographical and other peculiarities of this remarkable monument in the Isle of Caldey. He describes the inscription as "in that curious mixture of minuscule and uncial letters transformed into capitals, that became general soon after the departure of the Romans, and which is found in all the oldest native inscriptions and manuscripts both in Great Britain and Ireland."⁶ There may be noticed, near the upper left-hand corner, certain marginal incisions that bear resemblance to Oghams; several examples of that cryptic writing have now occurred in Wales. The slab has been removed and fixed in the wall of the chapel, on the suggestion of an archæologist by whom its value would be truly appreciated, the Rev. James Graves; the letters are, however, it is said, becoming gradually impaired through exposure to weather.

The scorings to which I have alluded are recognised as Oghams by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, who has devoted special attention to early inscriptions in Wales; he has not, however, in this instance suggested any interpretation.⁷ Two other examples only of the palæographic enigmas, of such frequent occurrence in Ireland, are known to exist in South Wales. In North Wales they have been found more frequently. We owe to the researches and sagacity of Mr. Westwood and Mr. Longueville Jones many valuable notices of these curious relics, of which a single specimen has been recorded in England, namely, at Fardel, Devon, to which our attention was called, in 1861, by Mr. Smirke, and now preserved in the British Museum.⁸ Mr. Richard R. Brash has recently given us a full account of all the Ogham inscriptions that exist in the Principality.⁹

ALBERT WAY.

⁶ Arch. Camb., *ut supra*, p. 261. At the meeting of the Cambrian Archæologists, at Truro, in 1862, fifty-five fac-similes of inscriptions, crosses, &c., were exhibited by Mr. Westwood, showing the gradual change from pure Roman capitals to Hiberno-Saxon, or Hiberno-British minuscules. A list is given, Arch. Camb., third series, vol. viii. p. 362.

⁷ See his notice of a Roman altar bear-

ing Oghams, at Loughor, Glamorganshire. Arch. Camb., third series, vol. xv. p. 262. Of the other Ogham inscriptions, cited as existing in South Wales, one is near Kenfig, in the same county; the other, in Caldey Island, given above.

⁸ Arch. Jour., vol. xviii. p. 175.

⁹ Arch. Camb., third ser., vol. xv. p. 148.

TALISMANS AND AMULETS.¹

By C. W. KING, M.A.

MEDIÆVAL TALISMANS.

CERTAIN Gnostic figures and "Holy Names" continued during the Middle Ages to enjoy as high a reputation as in the classical times. At the very close of the mediæval period, Camillus Leonardi (Camillo di Leonardo), in his "*Speculum Lapidum*," written in 1502, and dedicated to Cesare Borgia, whose physician he was, when treating upon the virtues of gems and of the sigils cut in them, lays down this fundamental rule:—"Magical and necromantic figures bear no resemblance to the Signs or constellations, and therefore their virtues are only to be discovered by persons versed in those particular arts, viz., Magic and Necromancy; yet is it most certain that the virtue of the figure may be in some measure discovered from observing the qualities of the stone it is cut upon. And inasmuch as the same stone often possesses different properties, so are figures found made up out of the parts of different animals, expressing the various virtues of the gem itself. This is apparent in a jasper of my own, which represents a figure with the head of a cock, the body of a man clad in armour, a shield in the one hand, a whip in the other, and serpents instead of legs; all expressive of the several virtues inherent in the jasper, which are, to drive away evil spirits, fevers, and dropsies, to check lust, prevent conception, render the wearer virtuous and beloved, and to stanch the flowing of blood. All such figures are of the greatest virtue and potency." Again, he quotes from Ragiel's "*Book of Wings*" (a work he styles indispensable to all students of magic) the axiom, "*The Names of God*"²

¹ Continued from page 157.

² The Rosicrucians made great use of this notion. One of their legends is that Shem and Japhet by repeating six times, as they walked backwards, the great name IABEMIAH, "The God of Increase," restored the virility of Noah, of which he had been deprived by Ham. For they

applied the Greek legend of the mutilation of Coelus by Saturn to the Jewish story of Noah's drunkenness. Again, "The potent name NEHMAHMIHAI, coupled with the delicious name ELIAEL, puts all the powers of darkness to flight."—Comte de Gabalis.

engraved upon belemnite preserve places against thunderstorms, and likewise give power and victory over one's enemies." In this doubtless lurks a traditionary reminiscence of the potency originally attributed to the divine titles in Semitic tongues, that so common decoration of Gnostic talismans, and also of the sense in which those mystic words were at that time interpreted. Ragiél cannot be supposed to allude here to names inscribed in the Latin tongue or character, seeing that nothing of the sort is ever found upon gems known to his early period. The Italian Esculapius declares more than once in the course of his treatise, that all sigils of potency were the work of the Children of Israel in the wilderness, whereas those engraved by the old Romans or the artists of his own times, were merely fancy subjects (*voluntariæ*), and possessed no other virtue beyond the natural one of the stone itself. For this reason these *efficacious* gems went by the name of "Pierres des Juifs," or "Pierres d'Israel," and are often found so denominated in old inventories of jewels. "Cy après s'ensuyvent plusieurs pierres entaillées et erlentées lesquelles sont appellées *Pierres d'Israel*. Selon les saiges philosophes les aucunes sont artificielles, c'est à dire qu'elles ont eté ouvrees. Premièrement, en quelque manière de pierre que tu trouveras entaillée á l'ymage du mouton, ou du lyon, ou du Sagittaire, elles sont consacrées du signe du ciel. Elles sont très vertueuses car elles rendent l'homme aimyable et gracieux á tous, elles resistant aux fièvres quotidiennes, quartanes, et autres de froide nature, &c." (Mandeville's Lapidary, written 1372; Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 454).

In the grand focus of iconoclasm does the most remarkable example present itself of an adopted relic of heathenism in the form of the very Kaaba of Mecca. This is a *black*³ stone, four feet high by two wide, on which is sculptured a figure of Venus with the crescent. It is described by Zachder as a talisman anciently set up to scare away all noxious reptiles. But the popular notion (which prevailed as early as the time of Suidas) was, that Abraham begat Ishmael upon this very stone; or, according to another tradition, tied his camel to it when he went up into the mountain. The Venus the Arabs take for the likeness of the hostess of the two angels Arol and Marol.

³ Probably an aerolite like the Baal of Emesa; the Venus of Paphus, &c.

But the sacred names of the Gnosis in process of time suffered sad degradation; **IAO** and **SABAOTH** themselves became mere spells for making fish come into the net. The mediæval doctors had, long before, read **IAO** as **AIO**, and construing this as representing the peacock's cry, promised wonderful effects from a stone engraved with this fowl having a sea-turtle below, and these letters in the field.

The celebrated "Xenexicon" or plague-amulet of Paracelsus, in whose efficacy the learned Gaffarel⁴ (librarian to Card. Richelieu) firmly believed, was a paper inscribed with the figures of a serpent and scorpion, to be made when Sol was entering the latter Sign. Another of equal virtue represented a sheep pierced full of holes. But the latest surviving relic of this class of superstitions, is that charm against the plague still believed in by the German boors. The material is a thin silver plate engraved with those holy names of the ancient Kabala thus arranged,—

	+ ELOHIM + ELOHI +				
+ ADONAI +	4	14	15	1	+ ZEBAOH +
	9	7	6	12	
	5	11	10	8	
	16	2	3	13	
	+ ROÇYEL + IOSEPHIEL +				

The numerals added together either downwards, across, or from corner to corner, give the same sum, 34; though why that particular number should have any special merit must be left for some profound Kabalist (if any yet survive) to explain. This same tablet is seen suspended over the head of "Melancholy" in Albert Durer's wonderful engraving so entitled,—a convincing proof of the importance attached to it in the days of that artist. Its introduction in so conspicuous a place long puzzled me, until I met with the notice of its specific virtue in Justinus Kerner's little treatise "On Amulets."

⁴ In his *Curiositéz Inouyes*. 1632.

The extreme barbarism marking the execution of many Gnostic talismans would lead one to suspect that their manufacture survived considerably beyond the date usually assigned for the extinction of the Glyptic Art in Europe. The mere mechanical processes of this art are so easily acquired, and the instruments employed therein so simple and inexpensive, that the only cause for its cessation in any age must have been the cessation of demand for its productions. But the Arab astrologers under the Caliphate continue to speak of talisman-makers and their mode of proceeding as a regular trade; the Manichæan branch of Gnosticism flourished far down into the Middle Age; the old symbolism was, after that, taken up and improved upon by the alchemists and Rosicrucians; so that such barbarous works, in which every trace of ancient design is extinct may, with good reason, be assigned to times long posterior to the fall of the Western Empire. Of this the most convincing proof that can be adduced is the so-called seal of St. Servatius,^a still preserved in Maestricht Cathedral. It is a jasper, 2 in. in diameter, set in silver, bearing the rudest intaglio bust of the saint in the style of a Byzantine medallion; the reverse, a Gorgon's head, with a legend plainly a phonetic rendering of the common exorcism, *Μοῖρα μελαινομένη ὡς ὄφis*. Again, we actually find Marbodius, at the end of the eleventh century, when describing the virtues of the sard, turquoise, and beryl, directing certain sigils to be cut upon them for the purpose of enduing the gems with supernatural powers. This he would hardly have done had gem-engraving been unknown at the time when he was writing, for at a later period, when such had really become the case, we observe the mediæval doctors using the expression, "if a stone be *found* with such or such a figure upon it;" thus showing them to be entirely dependent on chance for their supply of such highly prized articles, and to have no artists within reach capable of transferring to gems the potent figures prescribed by Chael, Ragiël, and Rabanus Maurus. It was not their antiquity that gave the sole virtue to these gems, for we have abundance of sigils and charms cut in *metal* of ostentatiously Gothic manufacture. Inasmuch as gems, from their inherent virtues, were esteemed an infinitely more potent vehicle for similar arcana than the inoperative metal, the very fact of

^a Figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxi. p. 275.

their not occurring upon gems conclusively proves the incapacity of the age for bringing that material into use.

The completest example known of a mediæval talisman is one figured by Caylus (*Rec. d'Antiq.* vi. p. 404, pl. 130): a gold ring, in shape a plain four-sided hoop, weighing 63 grains, and found in cutting turf a league from Amiens, in 1763. Each side is occupied by a line of Lombardic letters, in seemingly corrupt Greek, mixed up with easily recognisable Gnostic titles.

+ OEQVTAA + SAGRA + HOQOGRA + IOTHE +
HENAVEAET

+ OCCINOMOC + ON + IKC + HOQOTE + BANQVES +
ALPHA 7IB

+ ANA + EENETON + AIRIE + OIPA + AGLA +
OMEIQA + ADONAI

+ HEIEPNATHOI + QEBAI + QVTQVTTA + IEOTHIN

In most of these spells, the letters **QVQVTTA** seem to form an essential part. To give other and full examples of cognate formulæ:—

The first covers the shank of a silver ring of the fourteenth century (from Berne), on the face of which is cut the *Ave Maria* in disjointed letters: + YRYRRAQVQVBERAL TERAMIALPLAEZERA. The second, a silver brooch (Waterton Coll.) has on the upper side, + EZERA · EZERA · ERAVERAÇAN · + QVQVRALTERANI · ALPHA · ET · W. On the flat surface underneath, + AOTVONO OIO MO OOIO AV. A silver ring (Collegio Romano), reads + MEL + GEREL + QOT + QVT + HAI + DABIR + HABER + HEBER.

A clue is given with respect to the nature of these interminable formulæ, though not as to their exact meaning, by our knowledge that the very popular **EBERDIABER** is nothing more than an aid to memory, each letter being the *initial* of the word beginning each verse of a prayer, protective against the plague, written in Latin.⁶ But the awful **AGLA**, that most potent of all exorcisms, is compounded of the initials of the Hebrew *Atha Gebir Leilam Adonai*. "Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord!" Mottoes so composed go back very

⁶ This interesting discovery was made by Mr. Waterton, in a book on similar

subjects published at Venice in the sixteenth century.

far : witness, the famous inscription on the banner which gave their name to the Maccabees, *Mi Camonah Baalim Jehovah*. "Who amongst the gods is like unto Jehovah!"

Another example (and of more recent date) that tends to illustrate the construction of these mystic forms, composed entirely out of initials, intended for no deeper purpose than to assist the memory in reciting the words of the prescribed charm or prayer, is furnished by the "Cross of St. Benedict," often stamped upon a medal so as to read both vertically and horizontally. The vertical letters stand for

C. C
S. S
N D S M D
P. M
L. B.

"Crux sancta sit mihi lux;" the horizontal for "Ne demon sit mihi dux;" the letters in the four cantons for "Crux sancti Petri Benedicti." Around runs the legend **VRNSMVSMQLIVB**—being the initials in the quatrain,

"Vade retro Satana,
Ne suade mihi vana
Sunt mala quae libas,
Ipse venena bibas."

Lastly, we have an astrological spell, of admirable efficacy, for it is produced by each planet contributing his own initial to make up the mystic **SIMSV M** :

"Post **SIMSV M** sequitur septima Luna subest."

Some Hebrew exorcism is probably expressed in the **BBPPNENA** ordered by *Solomon* to be engraved on a brass or iron ring, to be set with a jasper representing a man's head, and which gave the wearer protection in travel, success at court, &c., &c. **IHS NAZARENVS** was very good against epilepsy, and therefore is still frequently met with on silver rings of later mediæval make ; so was the verse

"Vulnera quinque Dei sunt medicina mei."

But the most notable of all prophylactics for this disease was the letter **T** with the legend **ANAZAPTA . DEI . EMANUEL**. In the Devonshire Cabinet is a cameo converted into an amulet, by the addition of this word, the meaning whereof is as yet shrouded in night, "*res alta nocte et caligine mersa*." But no charm was of greater force according to the saying,

"Est mala mors capta cum dicitur Ananazapta,
Ananazapta ferit illum qui lædere quærit."⁷


The belief in the virtue of the letter that accompanies the spell, the Egyptian Tau, or "Tau mysticum," goes back to the remotest antiquity. Although undoubtedly originating in the hieroglyphic "Sign of Life," otherwise the "crux ansata," yet the Christian source of name and notion was afforded by Ezekiel (ix. 4): "Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark (*lit.* "a Tau") upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof." Where the Vulgate actually reads "Signa eis Tau," perhaps from a tradition of the true meaning of the word. It is a remarkable exemplification of the persistency of ancient beliefs, amidst all the apparent revolutions of religious creeds, that this symbol, after figuring in the Bacchic Mysteries, should have been universally accepted by mediæval faith as the very "Signet of the Living God" mentioned in the Apocalypse. In the painted glass at S. Denys, the Angel was figured stamping the seal upon the forehead of the elect: the legend explaining the subject as **SIGNVM TAV**. The same mark is the distinctive badge of St. Anthony, an *Egyptian* hermit be it remembered, and in the old Greek paintings is always coloured *blue*.⁸

The phrase "I H S autem transiens per medium illorum ibat," was a safeguard against all dangers in travelling both by sea and land. "And therefore seyen some men when thei dreden them of thefes on any way, or of enemyes, 'Jesus autem, &c.' in tokene and mynde that our Lord passed through oute of the Jewes' crueltie and scaped safely fro hem. So surely mowen men passen the perele of thefes. And than say men 2 vers of the pseume, 3 sithes, 'Irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui, Domine. Fiant immobiles quasi lapis donec pertranseat populus tuus Domine donec pertranseat populus tuus iste quem pos-

⁷ The complete distich is engraved on a gold ring, found in a tomb at Milan (Waterton Collection). The nearest approximation to a meaning that a very learned Hebraist can elicit from *anana-zapta* is "The Joy of Shapta."

⁸ Clarkson states (but without giving his authority—a defect pervading the whole of his learned memoir on the symbolical evidence of the Temple Church),

that the T cross was the *mark* received by the Mithraicists upon their foreheads at the time of initiation. He adds that the present Masonic jewel of the G. A. is the same symbol, thrice combined thus,

 The three orders of the Egyptian priesthood had for badges respectively the circle, interpreted as signifying the *sun*; the triangle, *pleasure*; and the tau, *eternal life*.

sedisti.' And thanne may thei passe withouten peine." (Mandeville, Chap. X.) Edward III. put these same words for a legend or motto upon his gold noble in memory of his miraculous escape in the great naval fight off Sluys, an event also commemorated by the type of the obverse, the king fully armed standing in a ship. But the same words being likewise regarded in those times as an alchemical axiom, they were construed into a testimony to the then current story that Raymond Lully, the famed possessor of the Philosopher's Stone, had made (being shut up in the Tower till he complied) the amount of gold required for the new coinage.

Equally popular, too, was the figure of St. Christopher, and for very good reason, so long as people believed in the distich—

"Christophori faciem die quocunque tueris
Illo nempe die mala morte non morieris."

The earliest to make its appearance amongst these spells, and occurring the most frequently of them all, is—

QVTTV . THEBAL . EBAL . ADROS . (VDROS.) MADROS .

in which one is tempted to discover the similarly sounding Hebrew words, signifying *time, the world, vanity, seek after, sought*, in the sense of "time flies, the world is vanity, seek after what is worth seeking for." And this interpretation is rendered more plausible by what Baccius (*De Gemmis*) mentions under "Topazius," that Hadrianus Gulielmus of Naples possessed one engraved in "antique" Roman letters, with the maxim to much the same effect "*Natura deficit, Fortuna mutatur, Deus omnia cernit.*" But inasmuch as such aphorisms, and couched in that language, have no precedent amongst existing relics of *ancient* superstitions, I more than suspect that Baccius' *antique* Roman letters meant the Lombardic, quite obsolete in his day, when the true *antique* alphabet, revived, was alone in use; and, moreover, that we have here the true interpretation of the enigma which has so long puzzled archæologists. Besides the obvious correspondence in the sense, there seems an intentional agreement in the number of syllables in each legend. Epiphanius (*Hæres. xxv.*) laughs at the fondness of the Gnostics for certain Hebrew words, the sound of which had struck their ear as fraught with deep mystery, although in fact of utterly trivial import. "Attempting to impose upon the

imagination of the unlearned by the terror of the Names, and the fictitious barbaric sound of the appellations, they give to one of the Powers the title "Caulau cauch," words taken from Isaiah (xviii.), and signifying there nothing more than "hope upon hope." Nevertheless, the sound of **ADROS**, **VDROS**, irresistibly reminds the ear of the invocation to the Agathodæmon Cunphis in the Hartwell House Collection, **ΑΡΤΟC ΠΕΙΝΗ ΥΔΩΡ ΔΙΨΗ**, and that some amongst mediæval spells contain fragments of corrupted Greek is a fact that cannot be disputed.⁹

CASPAR or **IASPAR**, **MELCHIOR**, **BALTASAR**, the traditional names of the Three Magi, yet more famed as the "Three Kings of Cologne," was an inscription for rings and cups,¹ almost as much in vogue as the words last discussed. The importance so long attached to these names of the "Wise Men out of the East," is evidently connected with some reminiscences of the former Mithraic worship so prevalent throughout the later empire, there being every reason to accept Seel's plausible hypothesis ("Mithra") that under the cloak of Mithraicism early Christianity first grew up and flourished in Gaul and Germany, secure from molestation from the older national creeds. Or again, the same reverence may have had its source at a later period in Manichæism, which was itself only a modification of the Zoroastrian doctrine, for Manes was put to death as a *heretic* by the decree of the œcumenical council of Magi, convoked by Varanes II. to consider the nature of his new teaching. The Magi, therefore, professional brethren of the writer, may well be supposed to have played a very conspicuous part in the "Gospel of Manes," now unfortunately lost. When their names were first published cannot be ascertained; they do *not* occur where one would naturally expect to find them, in the "Gospel of the Infancy," which gives so particular an account of their visit to Bethlehem. They had been led thither by a prophecy of *Zerdusht*, and received from Mary, in requital for their offerings, the infant's swaddling-clothes, of which present the result is thus narrated.² "On

⁹ For example **ΑΓΙΟΣ.Ο.ΤΗΕΟΣ**. **ΑΓΙΟΣ. ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ**. (words from the Mass-service) often occur, more or less distorted, on rings of this kind. Byzantine influence long continued to tinge the superstition of the Franks. Niquitas (*Nicetas*) of Constantinople and his col-

league Udros are named amongst the first apostles of the Albigenses.

¹ As upon the silver rim of a chalice-shaped goblet amongst the Parker plate, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

² Gospel of the Infancy, ch. iii.

their return their kings and princes came to them, inquiring what they had seen and done. . . . But they produced the swaddling-cloth which St. Mary had given to them ; on account whereof they kept a feast, and having, according to the custom of their country, made a fire, they worshipped it. And casting the swaddling-cloth into the fire, the fire took it and kept it. And when the fire was put out, they took forth the swaddling-cloth unhurt as much as if the fire had not touched it. Then they began to kiss it, and put it upon their heads and their eyes, saying,—‘ This is certainly an undoubted truth, and it is really surprising that the fire could not burn it and consume it.’ Then they took it and, with the greatest respect, laid it up amongst their treasures.”

The notion that the Three Kings typify the three ancient divisions of the earth—the first being painted as an European, the second an Asiatic, the third a Negro—seems borrowed from some ancient representation of the same regions paying their homage at the “Birth of Mithras,” the *Natale Invicti*, celebrated on the 25th day of December. Hence arose the restriction of their number to *three*, although that of the “wise men” is nowhere specified by either the canonical or the apocryphal evangelists. Their traditional names in fact appear from their marked analogy to the attributes of the Solar deity to have been originally no more than the regular epithets of Mithras himself ; Caspar signifying the *White one* ; Melchior, *King of light* ; Baltasar (the Vulgate form of Belshazzar), the *Lord of treasures*. And the origin of our festival of Christmas Day is best stated in the words of S. Chrysostom himself (Hom. xxxi.), “On this day the birthday of Christ was *lately* fixed at Rome, in order that whilst the heathens were occupied in their profane ceremonies the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed But they call this day ‘The Birthday of the Invincible One :’ who is so invincible as the Lord that overthrew and vanquished Death ? Or, because they style it the ‘Birthday of the Sun.’ He is the Sun of Righteousness, of whom Malachi saith, ‘Upon you, fearful ones, the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings.’”

The very popular spell, already considered, is met with under many and strangely-distorted forms ; being either corrupted through ignorance, or, what is more probable, purposely disguised by the insertion of a foreign letter in

each word. For example, a gold ring lately exhumed in an old castle, co. Limerick, reads,—

+ ADROCS . VDROCS . ADROCS . TEBRAL.
+ TQVSTVS . QVS . TAMQVE.

where, for some mystic reason, the C, thrice inserted, greatly alters the appearance of the familiar charm. Another, in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy, actually introduces genuine Greek letters, although there is every reason for supposing that the groundwork of the formula remains substantially the same.

+ ΠΟΡΟC . SVORCOS . ΠΟΡCOC . TERRAL.
QVSCYSCYSTRMCQVET.

It is much to be regretted that such useful defences of our households should have been allowed to fall into oblivion as were the spells alluded to by Pope in his lines,

“One sings the fair, but songs no longer move,
No rat is rhymed to death, nor maid to love.”³

Spells contrived especially for the destruction of noxious animals were perhaps amongst the oldest of their kind; Virgil has

“Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.”

Justin Martyr likewise⁴ mentions, with manifestly the fullest belief in their efficacy, the *τελέσματα* made by Apollonius Tyaneus against mice, and wild beasts; accounting for the fact, by that philosopher's deep knowledge of the secrets of nature. Gaffarel quotes Jonctinus that “Nicolas of Florence, a religious man, made an amulet for driving away gnats under a certain constellation, in certain determinate forms; he made use of the constellation Saturn in a bodily shape, and he thereby drove away the gnats.” Something of the kind yet survives in the East: the Persians manage to scare away cockroaches by writing up the name of the cockroach king, Kabikaj, in the places infested by his subjects. In the University Library at Cambridge may be seen a Persian MS. thus defended against their attacks by this venerated name, inscribed thrice upon its cover—how invaluable an ornament to a London kitchen, supposing the title to retain its power over those dusky colonists from the Indies!

³ Dr. Donne's Sat. II.

⁴ Quæst. xxiv.

THE RISE AND RACE OF HASTINGS.¹

II. 2. WALTER MASCHEREL, second son of Walter the Deacon, was, with his father, his brother Alexander, and their sister Edith, founder of Wikes Nunnery.

Morant [II. 457] cites a Walter Makerell and Ermegard his wife as grantors of the manor of Bircho in Kirby, Essex, to the abbey of St. Osyth, of which Bishop Richard de Belmis of London was the founder before 1118; and it is remarkable that among the Wikes charters, one by Alexander de Waham is addressed to Bishop Richard, and tested by Abel, Abbot of St. Osyth, who also tested a charter by William son of Robert de Hastings, in which the gift by Walter Mascherel is recorded. Abel is omitted by Newcourt, but was probably the second abbot, dating from 1123.

Ermegard seems to have been an heiress, for about 1165 in the honour of Boulogne the fee of Ermegard Malkrell stood at two knights' fees, of which one was in Colun and Legre in Essex. Which of the many Colns this was does not appear. The Deacon's property included a place of that name [Lib. Nig. I. 391, Test. de Nev. 274-5]. The other of these fees was held by the Abbot of St. Osyth, which house seems to have had friendly relations with the Deacon's descendants.

It has been shown that Robert d' Estan or Mascherel bore also the name and was ancestor of a family of Hastings; there is, therefore, nothing improbable in Hastings having been also a designation of his brother Walter, and to show that this was really so, it will be convenient to take the recognized pedigree of the Barons Hastings and trace it upwards towards its source.

The pedigree of Hastings in Dugdale's Baronage commences with William de Hastings, Lord of Ashley in Norfolk, and steward to Henry I., whom he makes father of Hugh de

¹ Concluded from p. 136.

Hastings who married Erneburga de Flamville, and was direct ancestor of the earls of Pembroke.

The same eminent genealogist, however, in his History of Warwickshire, under the head of Fillongley, commences with Walter de Hastings, who, he says, married Hawisia, and was father of Hugh.

About Hawisia there can be no doubt, since she appears in the three original charters printed in the Monasticon, but Walter may have had two wives, in which case the presumption is rather that Hawisia was the first and mother of his children.

Nicholas, in his Extinct Peerage, follows the Baronage, and makes William the first baron by tenure, and Hugh the second.

Eyton who, in his History of Shropshire [V. 131], has given a most valuable memoir of the earlier members of the baronial house, commences with a William de Hastings, dead in 1130, who married the heiress of Maurice de Windsor, and was father of Ralph, dead in 1165, s. p., and Hugh who married the Flamville heiress.

Fillongley, the chief seat of the Barons Hastings until their match with Cantelupe installed then at Abergavenny, was, at Domesday, possessed by Robert Dispensator, from whom it passed to Marmion, who enfeoffed in it Walter de Hastings. That Walter was a landowner in that part of Warwickshire is proved by the grants of land of his wife Athawisia or Hawise to Polesworth Nunnery, of which they were, virtually, the founders. Their charter, of the reign of Henry I., 1100-1135, is confirmed by Roger, Bishop of Lichfield, 1129-1148. Walter therefore was married, and in possession of his estate between 1129 and 1135, and was clearly the predecessor, and probably the father, of William, and grandfather of Ralph and Hugh de Hastings, who held the Fillongley lands. The above date is also consistent with Walter being a younger son of the Deacon, who was living at the time of the Domesday survey.

It has also been shown that the patronage of Wykes, held by Robert, did not descend to his daughter, but passed to Ralph de Hastings, his brother. Ralph could not have been Ralph Lord Hastings, because the baron was dead in 1165, and the deed showing the passage of the advowson to Ralph is witnessed by Godfrey de Lovaine, who did not become

connected with the family till 1200-1. This then does not establish a connection between the two lines. That must be sought nearer to the root of the tree.

Among the very numerous manors and fees which belonged either in demesne or as chief lords to the Barons Hastings there was none, for many centuries, in Essex. It was not until the 49 Edward III., 1375-6 or the year before, that the following fees are recorded as holden by John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. In Essex, Purley, Theydon-Gernon, Leyes, Bachden, Wikes, Chesterford; and also for the first time in Dorset, Gadmanston; in Essex, Brumle; and in Beds, Blunham manor and its church [Inq. p. m. 49 Edward III.]

Now most of these were the fees of Walter the Deacon, and parts of the barony of Robert de Hastings, his son; and a few years before, 30 Edward III., 1356-7, Matthew de Lovaine held in Essex, Wikes, $\frac{1}{4}$ fee; Weylond, $\frac{1}{4}$ fee; Bromley, etc.; and in Dorset, Godmerston, 4 fees. In Suffolk, Cestreford-parva, Berneston, $\frac{1}{8}$ fee; Stowe-market, $\frac{1}{4}$ fee; Eystan-ad-turrim church; Boldeston and Drencheston churches; Eystan-ad-turrim manor, held of the honour of Windsor; and Bildeston [Ibid. 30 Edward III.]. About this time the Lovaines ended in an heir female, and it was probably on this occasion that the feudal superiority over Wikes, Bromley, Godmerston, and Chesterford, passed to the lords Hastings as the male heirs. When Purley passed does not appear; but this also they had. Easton-ad-turrim, which came with the Windsor heiress, and did not descend from the Deacon, did not pass.

Further, the advowson of Wikes, which did not descend to Delicia, also is found at the same time vested in John de Hastings; and Morant states that a certain $\frac{1}{2}$ fee in Wikes, held by the father of Delicia and his ancestors, descended to and was held by the prioress of Wikes, of John Earl of Pembroke in 1374, together with a fee in Purley [Mor. II. 347].

Why this passage of the fees on the extinction of the Lovaines did not take place when the male line of Robert de Hastings failed in Delicia has not been ascertained, neither is it known what took place on the death of Ralph the brother of Robert; but the circumstances stated point to a common ancestor in Walter the Deacon for Hastings of

Easton and Hastings of Fillongley, and the identity, therefore, of Walter Mascherel with Walter de Hastings. Morant, who had access to many charters and early documents connected with Essex, and was very competent to make use of them, was of this opinion [II. 466].

Adopting this conclusion, Walter the Deacon will be the founder of the baronial house, and Walter Mascherel his son identical with Walter of Fillongley, and, by Ermegard his wife, father of—

III. WILLIAM DE HASTINGS, who is called by Dugdale “Steward to King Henry the First” [Bar. I. 574]. This was an hereditary office held by serjeantry, and attached to the manor of Ashley or Ashill, in Waneland Hundred in Norfolk, the duty being the charge of the napery used at the king’s coronation.

In Domesday, “Asscelea tenuit Aluricus tegnus Heroldi tempore regis Edwardi ii. carrucas terræ.” It was among the manors of Earl Ralph Guader, and at the time of the survey held in capite by Bernerus arbalistarius [II. 268]. How the manor passed to William de Hastings does not appear, nor indeed is there contemporary evidence that he held it. It is no doubt this William who, with Robert de Venoiz, claimed, without success, before Henry I. the office of “Magistratus Marescalciæ” against John, son of Gilbert the Mareschal, ancestor of Mareschal Earl of Pembroke [Madox H. of Exch. I. 46].²

The Liber Niger attributes to William de Hastings 2 fees under Earl Ferrars, held *temp.* Hy. I. by Robert de Chartres and Henry de Cunegeston, and 1 fee in Warwickshire of the old feoffment, which is, of course, Fillongley.

This William died before 1130, having married the sister, and in her children the heir, of Maurice de Windsor, and through him of Ralph the dapifer or steward of St. Edmund’s Abbey. In 1115-19 Alboldus, Abbot of St. Edmund’s, gave to Maurice de Windleshore the whole land which Ralph his predecessor held as dapifer, besides an addition of 2 knights’ fees, the whole heritage of Ivo de Gessyng. Among the witnesses are Robert and Reinald de Wyndleshore and Walter

² It appears from a charter by King John that William de Hastings and Robert Venoiz claimed unsuccessfully the “Ma-

gistratus Marescalciæ” at the court of Henry I., 1100-1135, from Gilbert and John Mareschal.

de Osaville [Brakelond, p. 118]. There is also a charter by William, probably Rufus, to the Abbot of St. Edmund's, notifying the concession to Ralph, dapifer to the Abbot, of the lands of Lidgate and Blunham, to hold of the abbey [Ibid, 118].

The name of Maurice de Windsor occurs in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., 1130-1, as accounting to the sheriffs of Essex and of Norfolk [pp. 57-9, 95].

In 1130, Maurice and his wife Egidia gave to Hoxne Priory in Suffolk, a foundation of Bishop Herbert de Losing about 1101, the chapel of St. Edmund which Ralph, dapifer, had built anew, that therein a convent of monks might pray for Ralph's soul [Taylor, Mon. p. 85]. Hoxne was a cell of Norwich. As the office was hereditary, the foundation of this obit indicates almost certainly a blood relationship between Maurice and Ralph. King Stephen, 1135-1154, confirmed Maurice in the lands and office of dapifer, and he probably died childless in that reign [Eyton, Salop V. 134]. William was the father certainly of Ralph and Hugh, who succeeded in turn, and probably of 3, William, 4, John, and 5, Thomas. It is uncertain whether these three sons should be placed here or in the next generation; and as Thomas was without doubt ancestor of the earls of Huntingdon, the question has its interest. In the Harleian MS. 3881 are transcripts of various Hastings charters, in one of which Henry, son of John de Hastings, confirms to Hugh de Hastings, Gissing, "*Quam Johannes de Hastings pater meus dedit Thoma de Hastings patri suo.*" Here then we have two brothers, John and Thomas, and their two sons, Henry and Hugh; John, as grantor, evidently the elder. That they were near to the chief of the Seneschal's family is clear, because they had Gissing, which had only been acquired in 1115-19, and that neither of them was the chief is also known. That Thomas and his son Hugh were ancestors of the Huntingdon line is certain, the question is only to what generation did Thomas belong. Now it appears in the Pipe Roll of 1 Richard I. [p. 183], 1189-90, that John de Hastings rendered accompt of 61*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, "*Pro habenda terra et hereditate Willielmi de Etton fratris sui.*" John and Thomas therefore had a brother William de Etton, that is, William de Hastings de Etton, who is entered in the Liber Niger as "*Willelmus de Etona apud aliam Budefunt 1 mili-*

tem de maritagio Annæ, uxoris patris mei," and this he held under William de Windsore in Bucks, about 1165 [Liber Niger, I. 193].

But William, to whom John succeeded, was no doubt his elder brother, though not the eldest, since the Seneschals never held Etton, and are never at this period designated save by their proper sir-name. Thus, then, as the head of the family in the third, fifth, and sixth generations, or from say 1100 to 1226, was a William; and as it was not the custom, as in Wales, to repeat the same name with brothers or sisters, William can only have belonged to the fourth generation, and was therefore a younger or the third son of William and the Windsor heiress.

This also would account for his having a fief under William de Windsor, and in the midst of that Windsor property which remained in the main line, Maurice probably having been a cadet.

IV. RALPH DE HASTINGS, 2nd baron, Steward to the Queens of Henry I. and II., and to St. Edmund's Abbey. Probably also Steward to the King, as Lord of the Manor of Ashley. Ralph is a name occurring elsewhere in the Hastings family, but in this instance it may have been derived from the Dapifer who is styled "*Avunculus suus*," and was probably his great uncle.

That his father was dead before 1130 appears from Ralph's having been then, 31 Hen. I., Steward to the Queen, various sums standing to his account in that capacity in the Pipe Roll, as well as in the succeeding reign. Thus, 2 Hen. II., 1154-5, he has 7*l.* in wine, in London, for the use of Henry, the King's son, his sister, and his aunt, and for their corredy 6*l.* 6*s.* In Middlesex he has 7*s.* In Surrey, for the Queen's corredy, 70*l.* In Cambridgeshire, 20*l.* for wheat in Fordham. In Bucks, 30*l.* for the Queen's corredy. In Somerset, in Witeham, 10*l.* In Kent, for the Queen's corredy, 70*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*, as sheriff, 30*l.* [Hist. of Exch. I. 365]. There are also similar entries for the two succeeding years, in one instance with Bernard de Chauigni, and in another with Manasser Biset, when, besides other sums, they receive for the Queen's corredy, and for a robe for her use, from the Sheriff of Hants, 16*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* [Pipe Rolls, 31 Hen. I., p. 87. 2, 3, 4, Hen. II., *passim*.]

5 Hen. II. Ralph was Sheriff of Kent, and was allowed

30*l.* for Queen Eleanor's corredy, and for that of the King's eldest son [Pipe Roll, 5 Hen. II.]. These accounts also show that he held lands in Middlesex, Berks, and Gloucester, exempt from certain imposts; and 20 librates in Fordham, Camb., and 10 in Witeham, Somerset. The Queen's Stewardship was probably not hereditary.

In the intermediate reign of Stephen, in 1152, Ralph de Hastings granted to the Temple the manor of Hurst, thence Temple-Hurst, in the West Riding, upon which a Preceptory was established. This grant was confirmed by Henry de Lacy. [Tanner, Not. Yorkshire, LVIII. New Mon. II. 551-2-6.]

In right of his mother, the Windsor heiress, and as heir probably of Ralph Dapifer, Ralph was hereditary Steward of St. Edmund, and held the five fees, which were its handsome appanage. Blomfield, who had not seen the Brakelond charters, erroneously derives this office from the Flamviles, with whom the family of Hastings had not as yet intermarried. He also connects this honour with Gissing Manor, near Diss, which he states to have been in the Abbots of Bury at the Conquest, and to have been granted to Fulcher for life, and then by Abbot Baldwin to Ricuard, with the stewardship in fee, and afterwards, temp. Hen. I., to Roger de Flamvile. The grants to Fulcher and Ricuard may be true; but for all that appears, the first connection of Gissing with the office was the addition of the two fees there by Abbot Albold to the three previously held, and the consolidation of all five in the person of Maurice de Windsor. The chief lordship, under the Abbey, of Gissing, descended to the Earls of Pembroke, but a mesne fee called Hastings Manor, in Gissing, was vested at an early period in a cadet of the family, and became the designation of the ancestors of the Earls of Huntingdon, who were for centuries Hastings of Gissing, and indeed owe the satisfactory establishment of their descent from the Barons Hastings mainly to their possession of this manor.

Ralph had from Henry II., about 1155, a charter addressed to William, Bishop of Norwich and the King's servants in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Beds, and Northampton, confirming to him then "*dapifero reginæ*," and his heirs, the lands of Ralph Dapifer and Maurice de Windleshore, of whomsoever and wheresoever held; and especially the office

of dapifer to St. Edmunds, as Ralph and Maurice held it. [Brakelond, 119.]

Ralph de Hastings, though omitted by Dugdale and Nicholas, was evidently a very considerable man, much in favour with Henry II., upon whom he was frequently in attendance, as shown by his witnessing divers royal charters. Fordham and Witeham were also royal gifts [N. Foedera, I. 41]. He seems to have held lands, no doubt as heir of Maurice de Windsor, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Beds, and Northampton, and in Berks, Dorset, and Middlesex, in which eight counties, in the Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I., he is excused Danegeld.

He died childless, and either single or a widower, as early as 1165, and was succeeded by William, son of his brother Hugh.

IV. 2. HUGH DE HASTINGS, who died before his elder brother, and therefore did not himself inherit, was enfeoffed in half a hyde of land in Fillongley, which he held as a quarter of a knight's fee. About 1130 he married Erneburga, daughter of Roger, niece of Robert, and sister and heir of Hugh de Flamvile, with whom he had Aston-Flamvile and a large estate in the counties of Leicester, Warwick, Bucks, and Middlesex. Of the estates, Burbach, Birdingbury, Barwell, Sketchley, Aston, and Stapleton, houses in Coventry, and a croft in Willey, held by the service of two knight's fees, were granted about 1100 by Robert de Limesi, Bishop of Coventry, with the consent of his Chapter, and of Henry I., to Robert de Flamvile, uncle to Erneburga, a Norman knight attached to Hugh de Grantmaisnel [Dugd. Bar. I. 574. Nich. Leicest. IV. pt. 2, p. 445].

In 1130, no doubt upon his marriage, Hugh accounted to the King for various sums; as 90 marks of silver and two destriers, the whole as balance of a fine for the land and niece of Robert de Flamvile. He had exemption from Danegeld for the property in four counties [Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I. Eyton, V. 136].

Flamvile, or de Flamenvilla, was a considerable and most appropriate name upon the Northumbrian border in the reign of Henry I., but the pedigree, both earlier and later, is obscure. Aston, that is, Burbach, then within that parish, was the chief seat of the family in the midland counties. Norton Hospital, in Yorkshire, was founded about 1150 by

Roger de Flamville, and the Priors of Nostel and Malton had grants from him and his sons William and Hugh. In a grant by the latter occur the words "*antequam sororem meam Matildam Flamville Roberto de Hastings matrimonio dedi*;" so that there was a second match between the families. [N. Mon. II. 43, 818-19.]

It appears from the Exchequer Record that Aston or Eston was in two fees, Hastings and Mowbray. In the fee of Hastings, Robert de Flamville held half a knight's fee of John de Hastings, and John of the Prior of Coventry, and the Prior of the King [Inquis. 24 Edw. I.]. The Hastings moiety was therefore divided. The lordship of the whole half, and the enjoyment of one quarter, passed with Erneburga to Hastings, but the other quarter long continued to be held by a collateral male line of Flamville; And Matilda, who married Robert de Hastings about 1250, seems to have belonged to it. They continued to hold under the elder branch; and, in 1277, Robert de Flamville had lands in Aston under John, Lord Hastings; and on the death of the last Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Flamville had a grant of the whole manor, which his daughter and heir carried to the Turvilles. The advowson passed to the Greys, as did Burbach, and was the burial-place of the Earls of Kent. It is still held by Earl de Grey, as their heir general [Nichols, IV. pt. 2, pp. 447, 450. N. Mon. II. 367].

Birdingbury, and the Church of Barwell, were granted by Erneburga to Polesworth. [Dug. War. 799.] The crest of Flamville was "*a flame of fire*." The arms, Argent, a maunch gules, may have given rise to the Hastings' bearing, or been adopted from it, or the coincidence may be accidental. The name continued in Normandy, where, in 1200, Lohout de Flamville was a suitor in the King's court at Caen. [Rot. Norm. I. 13.]

The same combination of a maunch in the arms and a flame of fire as a crest, occurs in the family of Mansel of Margam.

It was probably one of the kinsmen of the younger line, who, as Robert, son of Ralph de Flamville is called in the Brakelond Chronicle Seneschal of Bury, and as such had charge of the Abbey on the death of Abbot Hugh, 15 Nov., 26 Hen. II., 1180; and its accounts were by him and

Robert de Cokefield rendered to the Sheriff of Norfolk. Also, as Seneschal, he witnessed one of Abbot Samson's charters. No doubt he was acting for William de Hastings, who might have been absent, or unable to act, just as the son of William, in 1182, was represented by his uncle. Robert died two years afterwards.

Hugh de Hastings was dead in 1163, shortly before his elder brother. His children were:—1. William; 2. Richard, Rector of Barwell. Possibly this was the Richard de Hastings who was of the royal council, and witnessed a charter of Henry II. to Wikes about 1130; or who, about the same time, is described as "*Ricardus de Hastings Milicio Templi in Anglia minister humilis*," [Harl. MS. 3881,] and who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Gervase as the Templar who with Tostis de St. Ouen prevailed on Becket to sign the Customs of Henry II.; or who at a Temple Chapter granted to Robert de Wic certain lands in Hackney in fee, excepting four acres granted to that Order by William de Hastings. [Chron. Gerv. p. 1386. Rapin, I. 227. Lysons' Env. II. 456.] There was also a Richard de Hastings about 1157, from whom the Sheriff of London rendered an account of two marks of gold and an ounce and a half, and still he owed six ounces and a half. [Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II. p. 112.] Another Richard de Hastings seems to have belonged to the Order, and to have risen to its head in the reign of Edward II. [Cole Documents, 211.] 3. Thomas de Hastings, who acted as Seneschal of Bury in 1182 for Henry, his infant nephew, and upheld his rights with great spirit. Henry is called his nephew, "*nepos*," but if this term be used for great nephew, which is possible, this is the same Thomas who is shown to belong to the preceding generation, and to be ancestor of the Earls of Huntingdon.

V. WILLIAM DE HASTINGS, third Baron Hastings by tenure, Lord Steward to Henry II., and Seneschal of St. Edmunds, was recognized as heir of his uncle Ralph, and Seneschal, by a charter of Henry II., 1155-6, confirming "*Willielmo de Hastyns dispensatori meo*," the dapiferate of St. Edmunds, with Lynham and Blunham, &c., as held by his paternal uncle Ralph and his maternal uncle Maurice. Eyton cites another charter by Henry II. to this William, confirming his paternal and maternal inheritance, and mentioning William his grandsire and Hugh his father as living temp.

Hen. I., and Erneburga de Flamvile as his mother. [Brakelond, 120. Eyton, V. 151.] Like his uncle Ralph, he seems to have been about the Court. At Woodstock, probably in March, 1163, he attested a royal charter; and another, somewhat later, at Le Mans. He must have died before April, 1182, when his son was under the protection of his uncle Thomas. [Eyton, V. 136. Monast. I. 518. Harl. Chart. 43, C. 53.]

William de Hastings married Maud, widow of William Cūmyñ, and daughter and coheir of Thurstan Banestre of Cheshire. The rolls of parliament [I. p. 2] record a Robert Banaster, temp. W. C., father of Robert, who had Richard, s. p., Warin, s. p., and Thurstan, who left Robert aged one year at his father's death, and died aged 24, leaving Robert Banaster under age, 6 Ed. I., 1278; rather a brief pedigree for so long a period. Connected with these was no doubt Richard Banaster, who held in capite Munslow and Aston-Munslow, co. Salop, in 1115, and was a Cheshire baron under Earls Richard and Ranulph Meschines. Thurstan, father of Maud Hastings, was his heir, perhaps his son. He witnessed charters of the Earls of Chester in 1141-1154, and was a baron under Ralph Gernons, holding Aston and Munslow. Maud had probably a brother Thurstan, who died, s. p., and certainly a sister Margery, who had Appleby, co. Leicester, and married Richard Fitz Roger. She died 1201, leaving a daughter only. [Eyton, V. 130.] By Maud William had Henry and William.

To William has been given a second wife, Ida, daughter of the Earl of Eu, but her husband was a Sussex Hastings; and Eyton, whose accuracy cannot be questioned, has proved that Maud Banastre survived her husband, and was either living a widow or just dead in June, 1222.

VI. HENRY DE HASTINGS, 4th baron. Born 1168. Aged 14, 1 April, 1182, and not as yet knighted, when his uncle Thomas, with a great retinue of knights, took him to St. Edmunds, and there claimed for him the seneschalship from Abbot Samson.

In 1190, being of full age, he accompanied King Richard to Palestine, having remission of the scutage due upon his fees held of St. Edmunds. [Pipe Roll, Norf. and Suff. 3 R. I.] He died 1194, and was succeeded by his brother William.

VI. 2. WILLIAM DE HASTINGS, 5th baron Hastings, Steward

of the Household and Seneschal of St. Edmunds. Succeeded 1194, and paid 100 marks as relief for the land and serjeantry of his brother Henry, and as much more to escape going to Normandy. [H. of Exch. I. 316, 473-663 ; Blom. Norf. I. iii. ; Pipe Roll, 7 R. I. 166 ; Dug. Bar. I. 574.] He was probably then but just of age.

8 R. 1, 1196-7, when Abbot Samson fell into controversy with his knights, and called upon them to acknowledge the services attached to their fees, the Earl of Norfolk was the first, and the Earl of Oxford and William de Hastings the last to do so. [Brakelond, 135]. In 1200 he sat in the court at Lincoln, before which William of Scotland did homage. [Dugd. Bar. I. 574.] 13 Nov., 1203, William de Warenne is to give him quittance for 100*l.* sterling, a debt due to the Jews, from whom Warenne is to obtain the papers, and the King is to be told the balance of the debt. John was then at Bonneville, but on his return William was to pay a fine, and meantime his lands, mortgaged to the Jews, were to be restored to him. [Liberate Roll, 73.] In 1204 his name occurs in Northamptonshire. Also Abram, son of Anege the Jew, has letters upon him in Suffolk for 20*l.* In 1205 he was bail for Henry, son of the Earl of Cornwall, to the extent of 20 marks. [R. de Oblat. 215-63-77-8.] 7 John, 1205, Warenne is again called in to replace him in the lands of Blunham, Hassel, and Horstel, now pledged to the Jews for debt, he giving security to the King.

In 1210 his Irish property, then first mentioned, was taxed for a "præstitum" ; Kilkenny and Dublin, 10*l.* ; Cracfergus, 4*l.* ; Droede, 4*l.* ; Dublin again in the same year, 100*s.* [Lib. Roll, 179, 218]. He then held 6 librates of land in Norfolk and Suffolk by serjeantry as "dispensarius regis," and 5 under St. Edmund, 3 in Lidgate, Blunham, and Herling, and 2 in Tibenham and Gissing. The Testa de Nevill calls the 10*l.* land in Asle [Ashley], "Scilicet existendi dispensar' in dispens' domini regis," and describes William as holding in serjeantry "de panetria domini regis in Essele" [Ashley] worth 100*s.* per annum. [Ib. 294-6.]

10 April, 1216, he was in rebellion, and the constable of Norwich was ordered to waste his lands and utterly destroy his castles ; and, 22nd April, his fees under St. Edmund in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Beds., were declared forfeit, as were

those granted him by the Abbot ; and, 3 August, his lands in Warwick and Leicester [T. de Nev. 298 ; Eyton, V. 136], and the sheriff of those counties is to give them over to William de Boeley and Elyas his uncle. [Close Rolls, 265-79.] This sharp discipline seems to have restored his allegiance at once, for in the same year Richard, constable of Wallingford, is directed to keep safe William de Tybeharn, hostage for William de Hastings, and Geoffrey de Tybeharn, another hostage, is to be given over to him by the sheriff of Oxon, taking pledges from William de Hastings for his good faith. [Pat. Rolls, I. 194.] Also the same sheriff, 16 August, is to restore to him the lands of William Fitz Geoffrey in Alwoldbury, in the fee of William de Hastings ; and on the 20th August the sheriff of Gloucester is to give him seisin of his lands, upon conditions ;^a and 15th Sept., the sheriff of Warwick to allow him his wife's dower in Shultenesfield. [Close Rolls, I. 281-2-8.] King John died in October ; on the 28th of which month, William de Hastings, like most others, availed himself of the moderation of William Mareschal to make his full peace.

In 1217, 2 Henry III., he has the scutage of the sheriffs of Gloucester, Warwick, and Oxford. In 1221, he is called upon to answer for the scutages upon his fees for the siege of Biham. [Close Rolls, 375, 475.] And he was present with the royal army at the siege of Witham (?) Castle. He seems to have returned to the practices of his youth, for, 7 Henry III., he stood charged, as of the county of Warwick, in the Roll of the Great Judaism with a debt of 27*l.* to Mosse, son of Isaac of Colchester. [Mad. H. of E., I. 232.] 17 June, 1222, he was fined 3 marks for a relief on two hides of land in Aston, Salop, that his mother, Matilda Banastre, held in capite. [Excerpt, E. R. Fin. I. 87 ; Eyton V. 136.] This probably marks his mother's death.

Robert de Haselover held half a fee under him in Haselover, co. Warwick, and paid one mark. [Test. de N. 96.] 8 Henry III., Hawise de Lanvalet could only recover from him six marks of a debt of 23*l.* ; and on paying one-third, or two marks, into the Exchequer, she had quittance of her fine. [Hist. of Exch., I. 454.]

William de Hastings died shortly before 28 Jan., 1226,

^a This however may be his Gloucestershire kinsman, having acted with him.

when his successor has livery of his lands. He married Margery, daughter of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Margery had Little Bradley; she also held a fee in Thorpe, Notts, or Derby. She died 31 March, 1237. In 1235-6, a Matilda de Hastings, possibly the same, held half a fee of the Honour of Ferrars in Warwick or Leicester. [Milles, Cat. of Honour, 503; Eyton, V. 133-6; Dug. Bar. I. 1024; T. de N. 17.]

William and Margery had, 1. Henry, 2. Ida, who had Brownsover, co. Warwick, and married, as his second wife, Stephen de Segrave, who died 1244. They left issue. [Dug. Bar. I. 671.]

VII. HENRY DE HASTINGS. Henry 7th baron Hastings was of full age at his father's death, and, 28 Jan., 1226, paid 50 marks livery for his lands. The precept is addressed to the sheriffs of Warwick and Leicester, Salop, Beds, Norfolk and Suffolk. [Excerpt, E. R. Fin. I. 112.] Blomfield says, that at the coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, Henry de Hastings claimed and was allowed the linen employed as his fee. [H. of Norf. I. 615.]

The House of Hastings, by successive marriages with the heiresses of Windsor, Flamvile, and Banastre, had attained to great wealth and considerable power; but they were now to form an alliance which placed their descendants among the claimants to a throne, and made them actual coheirs of a very wealthy earldom, although out of many of its possessions they were excluded by the sovereign. Henry married before 1237 Ada, daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, by Maud, sister and coheir of Ranulph Earl of Chester, and a coheir of both these great earldoms. Their arms as set up in the windows of Charlcote House were—*Or*, a maunch gules, impaling *or*, 3 piles from the chief, meeting in base gules. [Coll. Top. and Gen. IV. 349.]

As the question of succession to the throne of Scotland did not arise in the lifetime of Ada's husband, the position of the several claimants need not here be explained. Henry, however, at once entered into possession of a part of the earldom of Huntingdon, and of certain manors in lieu of his claims upon that of Chester. Thus, in 22 Henry III., 1237-8, the King granted to Henry and Ada de Hastings, in fee, Bremsgrave, co. Worcester; Bolsover Castle, co. Derby; Mansfield, with its soke and 3 members; and Oswardbec,

with its 7 members, in Notts; Worfield, Stratton, and Condovery, co. Salop; and Widdington and Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, as part of the heritage of Ada's brother, John le Scot, Earl of Chester, who died 7 June, 1237. [Pat. Roll, p. 18^b; H. of Exch. I. 723.] She had also Brampton, co. Hunts. The King resumed the earldom in 1246. The manors of Worfield, Condovery, and Church-Stretton were assigned to Henry and Ada in 1238 in part satisfaction of their claim upon it. [Eyton, III. 107.]

The public records contain numerous entries connected with the vast landed property possessed by Henry de Hastings. In 1240 he held, in capite, a quarter fee in Aston and Munslow, co. Salop. In 1241-2, while attending the King in France, he was taken prisoner, but speedily exchanged. [D. Bar. I. 574.] In 1243-4 he was summoned to parliament. 11 March, 1245, the sheriff of Salop was ordered to take possession of Strattondale Manor, which might be in consequence of Henry's death, though this event is generally placed later. There is some confusion, in the absence of the usual inquisition, between this baron and his successor of the same name. Dugdale combines the two. Eyton, an excellent authority, places his death in 1250.

Robert de Vere held in Slipton and Twyvell, county Northton., half a fee of Ralph Morin, and he of Henry de Hastings, of the Honour of Huntingdon. In this Honour he had fifteen fees, a fifth, and a sixth of a fee, held by fifteen tenants. Felmersham, Harewood, and Kemston, Beds, were of them. [T. de N., 25-26, 242. Abbrev. Rot. Orig. I. 12.] Also of his wife's property he held the vill and soke of Mansfield, that is Woodhouse, Sutton, and Nettelward, *in capite*, farmed at 32*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* [Ibid. 1.] Of the paternal lands are mentioned Fillongley, held of the fee of Marmion for a quarter fee; Mancetter, where Hugh de Mancetter held half a fee of Henry de Hastings; Burton-Hastings, county Warwick; Birdingbury, Haddon, Elby, Houghton Magna and Parva, county Northton. [Ibid. 52, 84, 99; Bridge's North. I. 370-3. Dug. War. 52.] In Leicestershire, Aston-Flamville, a parcel of Burbach. In Nayleston, one fee of the fee of Hugh Daubeny, Bramcote, Leir, Wistaneston, Staceston, Addeston, Wistow, and Fleckeneye, Burchton, and Schireford. In Beds, Claydon, Potteshoe, Bideworth, Cranlee and Brouston. Of the fee of St. Ed-

mund, five hides as Seneschal, and two hides in Kenemudewyk, of the same. Also lands in Poslingworth and a fee in Suffolk. [T. de N. *passim*.] These by no means represent the Hastings' estates, but only such parts of them as became the subject of some feudal or legal incident.

Other estates are also mentioned. He had Tamworth and Wigginton, county Stafford; and, as part of the earldom of Huntingdon, a third of Tottenham, by London, afterwards a distinct manor, known as Pembroke Manor, and held by the Hastings family by the tenure of rendering to the King, if required, a pair of gilt spurs on his taking knighthood. [Lysons' *Env.* III. 524.] Yardley, in Northants., afterwards Yardley-Hastings, where Earl David died, was another of Ada's manors, which were thickly scattered over that county. Upon the death of Elena, countess of John le Scot, some years later, other manors fell into the estate. [Bridge's *North.* I. 395. T. de Nev. *passim*. Abbr. R. Orig., I. 12. Inq. P. M., 38 Hen. III.].

In 1249, Henry accompanied the Earl of Cornwall with a great retinue to Lyons to visit the Pope, and in that year, or 1250, he died.

By Ada le Scot, Henry de Hastings had, 1. Henry; 2. Margaret, under age in 1250, whose wardship, with that of her sister, was given at once to William de Cantelupe, whose daughter married Margaret's brother Henry; 3. Hilaria, who had from her brother, Nayleston, co. Leicester, and was second wife to Sir William Harcourt, and ancestress of that family. She had dower in Stanton-Harcourt. At their father's death the two sisters were in Alnestow Nunnery, for education. [D. Bar. I. 574, 711, 712. Lipscomb, Bucks, IV. 389.] It appears from the Patent Roll of 37 Henry III. [p. 25,] that "Hubertus Lovell subtravit et desponsavit unam filiarum et heredum Henrici de Hastings." To whom this entry relates is uncertain. These ladies were not heiresses.

VIII. HENRY DE HASTINGS, 7th Baron Hastings by tenure, and jure uxoris Lord of Bergavenny, and first baron by writ, succeeded on the death of his father, in 1250, then under age, on which account his manor of Ottele, Suffolk, was farmed out. [Excerpt, E. R. F. II. III.] 13 November, 1253, he is called the King's ward, and Henry presented to Munslew in 1252, on the ground of his minority; but he

seems to have been in wardship first to Geoff. de Lusignan, and then to William de Cantelupe, whose daughter he married. [Ibid. 175.] 37 Henry III., 1252-3, was a partition of lands between Elena, widow of John, Earl of Chester, and Henry de Hastings, one of his heirs. [Pat. Rolls, I. 25.]

He probably came of age in or before 1258, which would give 1237 for his birth, and make him twelve years old at his father's death. 23 April, 1258, he was quitted a four years' arrears of 40s. per annum, on the plea of his minority during those four years, and wardship to Lusignan. [Excerpt, 275.] Next year, in August, he was summoned, with other great lords, to a Welsh campaign, and the following year to London. [New. Fœd. I. 399.]

While still young, probably while a minor, he joined the disaffected barons, and in December, 1261, is one of those to whom Henry addressed letters of amnesty after the provisions of Oxford. Nevertheless, in 1262-3, he took knighthood at the hand of De Montfort, and was his governor of the castles of Scarborough and Winchester, and took part in the defence of Northampton. In 1263, he is one of the magnates who swore to observe the arbitrement of the King of France in their disputes with Henry. Also, in 1264, Henry being captive, he joined with Simon de Montfort in giving power to the Earl's friends in France to arrange a peace between him and the King. [Ib., 412, 434, 446.] In this year, after the battle of Lewes, 24 December, 49 Henry III., he has a writ of summons, whence his barony by writ is held to date. He is one of those prohibited by the King from attending a tournament at Dunstable in 1265. [N. Fœd. 412, 434, 446, 449, 450. Pat. Roll, 37.] He also had a grant of Kirtling Castle, taken by the Barons from Roger de Toni. [Dugd. I. 470.]

The success of the Barons at Lewes, the capture of the King and Prince, and the escape of the Prince from Hereford, were events followed by the garrisoning of the Castle of Kenilworth by the younger Simon de Montfort. The Prince made a successful raid upon the town and priory from Worcester, and afterwards, 4 August, 1265, attacked, at Evesham, the elder Montfort, moving towards the support of the Castle; in which battle the Earl, with his eldest son Henry, was slain. Guy de Montfort, a younger son, was taken, as was Henry de Hastings, who, however, regained

his liberty. This he employed in supporting Simon de Montfort, now the chief of the Barons' party, and whose head-quarters were still at Kenilworth. Here he held the Castle from 11 November, 1265, to Midsummer 1266, when Prince Edward laid siege to it. De Montfort, intending to seek aid, left Hastings in command. The Prince was speedily joined by his father with Osbert Giffard and the Oxfordshire forces, and the castle was invested from the morrow of the Nativity of John the Baptist. Terms were offered; but the garrison maimed the messenger, and stood stoutly to their walls. The King then laid before them the well-known "*dictum de Kenilworth*," by which those whose estates were confiscated had the option of redeeming them by a fine not exceeding five years' value, nor under two years, to be paid to the grantees. Hastings, with De Montfort, and all concerned in the insult to the messenger, were however, excepted. They were to be imprisoned for seven years, and left to the King's mercy. The "*dictum*" was made known "*pridie calendas Novembris*" [31 October] 1266. The terms were at first refused; but famine and pestilence did their work, and the garrison surrendered on condition of four days in which to retire with their arms and goods. This was accepted, and the safe-conducts dated 13 December. [Dugd. Warw. 163.]

Hastings, whose conduct had been outrageous, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, with forfeiture of his lands, and a covenant of good behaviour by deed under seal, at Ely, 13 July, 1267. His kinsman, Sir Nicholas de Hastings, of Gissing, shared his forfeiture.

It appeared upon an inquiry that Henry de Hastings had stopped John de Onleye, a constable to the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Queen's servant, brought him to Northampton, and fined him 25 marks. It also appeared from the evidence of David de Esseby, one of his tenants, that he was in London against the King, at the attack on Rochester castle, and at the battle of Lewes, and the sack of the town. Henry had also taken William le Parker of Dullingham, and kept him at Kirtling castle until he paid 40s.

Gilbert E. of Gloucester had the manor of Lidgate and the Seneschalship of St. Edmunds. A question arose between the Earl of Surrey and the Countess of Albemarle, whether Chadiston was in the fee of Hastings or of Albe-

marle. It appeared also that Hastings owed to Hamon Le Strange, 67*l.* 12*s.* for the redemption of his manor of Mancetter, his bail being William and Eudo la Zouch, and Thomas de Bray. Geoffrey de Lezunan had his manor of Otteley, Sussex, and his advowson of Asseley. Yardley and other manors, to the amount of 100*l.* per annum, were saved from the wreck as a provision for his wife. He was, however, well friended, and within two years, at the interception of Prince Edward, he was pardoned, and his lands restored, "non," however, "sine gravi redemptione." [Rot. selectæ, temp. H. III. 131-6, 247-8.]

Probably his peace was made the more readily that his health was broken, for he died in 1268, leaving John de Hastings, his son and heir, who, 6 May, 1268, was 6 years old. [Inq. P. M., Collins' Bar. 135. Eyton, III. 107. Excerpt, E. R. F. II. 195]. He was buried in the Hastings chapel in the Grey Friars, Coventry. [Dug. War. 182.] The arms he bore were "d'or ove une manche de goules." [Coll. Top. II. 324].

His lands were by no means redeemed at his death. He still owed Hamon le Strange 67*l.* 12*s.* for the redemption of Mancetter manor. Warren Earl of Surrey had other claims. Geoff. de Lusignan still held Otteley and the advowson of Ashley. [R. Select. 151-3-6-248.]

The Consuls of Toulouse complained, 31 July, 1268, to Prince Edward that a merchant had been plundered by certain Barons, rebels against the king his father, of whom was "Dominus Anri Dastingas," which the editor takes to mean Henry de Hastings. [Royal Letters, II. p. 323.]

Henry de Hastings is described by Matthew Paris as "Miles egregius et Baro opulentus."

Joan, the wife of Henry de Hastings, was the daughter of William and sister of George de Cantelupe, Baron of Abergavenny. She died before her brother, whose death, childless, made her son the heir of a very extensive property both in England and Wales. The Lordship of Abergavenny, won by Bernard Newmarch, passed with its castle, and the Lordship of Brecon, with his descendant Bertha, daughter and co-heir to Milo, Earl of Hereford, to her husband, Philip, and finally to their descendant, Reginald de Braose, Lord of Bramber and Brecknock, who died 1222-8, leaving William de Braose, who was hanged by Prince Llewelyn in 1230,

having married Eve, a co-heir of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, by whom he left a daughter and coheir, Eve de Braose, who married William de Cantelupe, who thus obtained Brecknock and Abergavenny. He left George who died s. p., and Joan, who married Henry de Hastings, and whose son by him inherited the lands of the Cantelupes, and portions of those of de Braose, Briwere, and Mareschal, an addition to their already large estates and high alliances which placed the house of Hastings in the first rank of the Baronage.

William de Cantelupe, Baron of Abergavenny, Joan's father, died at Calveston in 1255, about three years after his son's birth. That son, George de Cantelupe, was born at Abergavenny on Good Friday, 35 or 36 Henry III., as testified by Peter, Prior of Henton, then Chaplain to William, who, in the absence of Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, and of the boy's father, was "overlooker" on the occasion.

George died 1272, and a Wilts inquisition shows his heirs to have been his sisters, Melisanda, then of full age, and wife of Eudo la Zouch, and John, son of Joan his other but deceased sister, by Henry de Hastings, then fifteen years old, and in ward to the King. On George's death, he was seised *in capite* of the Castles of Bergavenny and Cilgaran [Inq. P. M. *in loco*. Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 21.]

The estates were divided. Melicent, whose second husband was John de Montalt, Seneschal of Chester, had manors in Beds, Bucks, Notts, Northamts, Devon, Wilts, Hereford, and York, and was ancestress of Zouch of Haringworth. [Lips. Bucks, I. 176. Bridge's North. I. 24. D. Bar. I. 418, 702. D. War. 39.] She was dead in 27 Edw. I.

To the share of Joan, or her son, came Berwick, Stoford, and Manton Parva, co. Som.; the estates in Wales and Suffolk, in Warwick Shrugborough Superior, Aston-Cantelow the chief English seat of the family, and also their burial-place at Studeley Priory. [Banks' Bar. I. 3. Abb. R. O. I. 412. Collinson, Som. II. 837.]

Joan survived her husband, though but a short time, and had Burton co. Northton as part of her dower. Her seal, probably as a widow, bears the Hastings' maunch, and around it the fleur-de-lys of Cantelupe. [Dug. War. 1026.] She was buried in the Hastings' chapel at Coventry.

Henry and Joan had issue, 1. John; 2. Edmund de Has-

tings, who appears as a baron of the realm resident in the King's court, 1298. [Hist. of Exch., I. 655] ; 3. Audra, who married Rhys ap Meredith, for which marriage, they being cousins, Rhys in the third and Audra in the fourth degree, a mandate was obtained from the Pope, to which the Bishop of St. Davids certified, 12 Edw. I., 1283. [Rymer, I., p. 630 ;] 4. Lora ; 5. Joan.

The arms of Henry and Joan, set up at Charlcote, were, Hastings impaling gules, three leopards' heads jessant, fleur-de-lys or. [Coll. Top. et Gen. IV. 349.]

The subsequent pedigree of this family belongs to the Earldom of Pembroke, which they owed to a match made in the next generation.

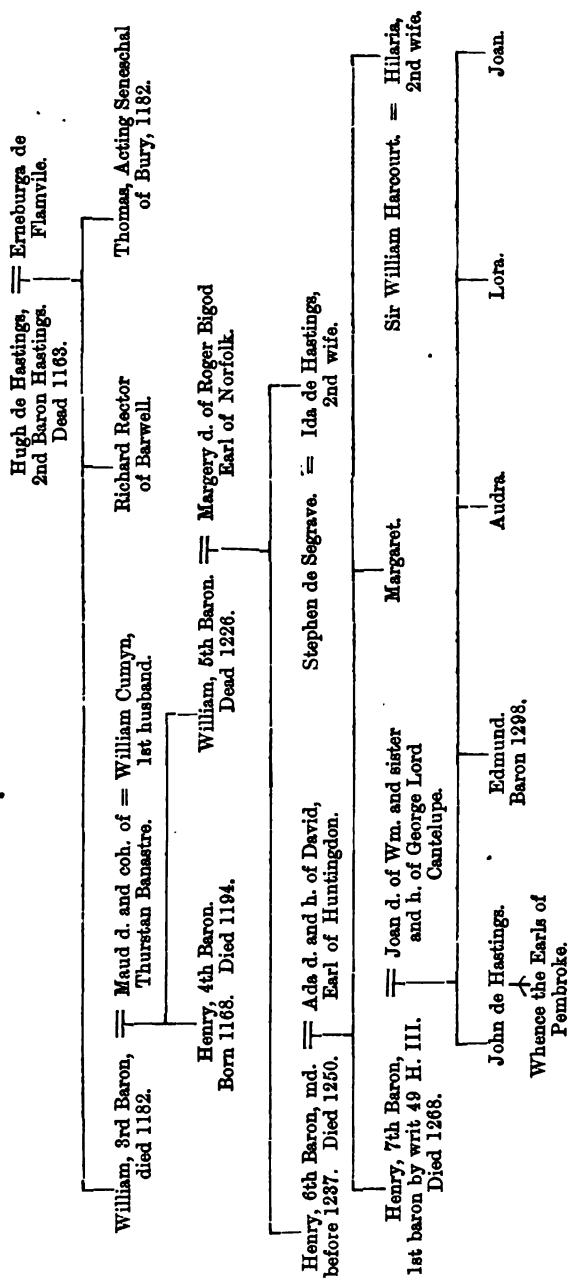
G. T. C.

ERRATA.

No. 101, p. 17, line 27—8, *read* "a cadet of William, first baron and brother of Hugh, who married Erneburga de Flamville."

No. 102, p. 129, in the pedigree, after "Hugh de Hastings, ob. circa," 1201 *should be* "1168."

Ditto, p. 136, lines 24-5, *for* "the Delicia, the heirs," *read* "Delicia, the heir."



CHELMORTON CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.
A FEW NOTES ON SEPULCHRAL SLABS AND OTHER VESTIGES.

By CHARLES SPRENGEL GREAVES, Esq., Q.C.

ON the 8th of last October, accompanied by Mr. James Yates, I went from Buxton to Chelmorton, in order to examine some ancient monuments of which we had received information. As we entered the churchyard, the Rev. R. W. Foulger, the curate, appeared in his canonicals at the porch of the church, accompanied by a number of the parishioners. On inquiry, we ascertained that he was about to lay the foundation stone of a new chancel forthwith to be built on the site of the old fabric at the eastern extremity of the church. We attended the ceremony; and this led to our acquaintance with Mr. Foulger, the curate of the aged vicar, the Rev. James Coates, who was too infirm to attend on the occasion. Mr. Foulger came, not long since, from the south of England; he found the church in such a ruinous state that it was essential that it should be pulled down and rebuilt; and most energetically has he worked with a view to accomplish that object. He is anxious that every feature of interest in the old church should be restored as accurately as possible in the new structure; that, in fact, it should be truly a restoration in its proper sense.

First, he brought the undertaking before the Duke of Devonshire, who owns the land in the township which was allotted at the beginning of this century in lieu of the great tithes. His Grace, like a prudent man, questioned Mr. Foulger as to the necessity for rebuilding the chancel; and an answer, which I think was as happy a one as could be given to so great a mathematician as his Grace, settled the matter at once. Mr. Foulger replied, that the walls were a foot out of the perpendicular: and thereupon the noble Duke at once undertook to rebuild the chancel at his own expense, though, as far as I can learn, it is doubtful

whether he was under any legal liability to bear this charge. In addition, the Duke subscribed 100% towards the rebuilding of the body of the church ; and Mr. Foulger is doing his best to obtain such further funds as may be necessary. The outlay, as estimated, will be about 1000%.

We then proceeded to inspect the church and churchyard. Among the stones which had formed the chancel, and in the churchyard, I found the slabs from which rubbings have been taken by Mr. Foulger's own hands. The designs occurring on these slabs are here figured. Before, however, I proceed to call attention to these memorials, I will give a brief account of the church and of a few of its peculiarities : and here I am bound to say that I have drawn largely from a description by our valued member, Mr. Fairless Barber, who, though like myself a stranger to the place, takes a warm interest in the restoration of the church.

The township of Chelmorton is in the parish of Bakewell, and about four miles south of Buxton. It abounds with stone walls around the fields ; the few trees and hedges about it have been planted since the beginning of this century. In so wild a country, one would hardly have expected to find so interesting a church. The site of the fabric is, perhaps, the highest in England : the Crescent at Buxton is 1000 feet above the level of the sea, and this church is much higher. It stands, however, at the foot of a still higher hill, called Chelmorton Low.

There exists a tradition that the original church was built in A.D. 1111. I was told that this date was found upon a carved board, which had been removed most improperly from the church to a museum at the entrance of Pool's Cavern, a mile from Buxton. On examining this board, Mr. Yates agreed with myself, that the carving presented no date, but was intended to represent four pillars supporting the floor of a chamber, or some object of that description.

And here I would mention what our visit for the purpose of seeing the carved board led to. We found the museum to be quite a curiosity-shop, full of all sorts of strange articles, from Breeches Bibles down to a fragment of the Manchester omnibus with poor Brett's blood upon it ; amongst them, however, were to be seen some interesting objects that had been found in the adjoining cavern, which

is of large extent. In it there is much stalagmite and stalactite. In the winter, Redfern, who keeps the museum, employs himself in searching under the stalagmite on the floor of the cavern. He has there found a perfect Roman fibula of bronze, fragments of Roman pottery, Samian ware, one piece representing a warrior on horseback, Roman coins, one of them of Domitian, other pottery resembling the urns commonly found in the Derbyshire barrows, an abundance of bones of animals and stags' horns, also burnt earth, indicating that there had been fires in the cavern. As Domitian was emperor from A.D. 81 to 96, this coin may possibly have been in the cave not much less than 1800 years, and yet it was found six feet below the stalagmite. I have mentioned these facts, because it is well worth while for any visitor at Buxton to visit this museum; and it is to be hoped that further search may reveal other curious relics in this remarkable cavern.

I now turn to another origin of the popular supposition in regard to the date once to be seen in Chelmorton church; Glover mentions in 1853, that 1111 was on an oak beam in the chancel. This beam was taken down, and Mr. Barber caused a board which had been nailed upon it to be removed; under this he found a boss of carved oak, with the Christian monogram or initials I.H.S. in such a form that any ignorant person looking at them from the floor might mistake them for the date 1111.

It appears, however, from Dugdale's *Monasticon* and from Lysons' *Derbyshire*,¹ that there was a chapel at Chelmorton at least as early as A.D. 1282, when the Prior of Lenton, Notts, had two-thirds of the tithes, and the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield the remainder; the Prior and convent were bound to provide books and other appliances for the chapel, and the Dean and Chapter a priest with a stipend of five marks a year.

This tends to confirm the suggestion made to me by Mr. Barber, that the church contains "portions of an earlier structure of about the middle of the thirteenth century;" he also thinks that the present church and chancel are not older than the sixteenth century.

The fabric is built of stone, and consists of a clerestoried nave of four equal bays, with north and south aisles, about

¹ Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, vol. iii. p. 222; Lysons' *Derbyshire*, p. 38.

40 feet in length and the same in breadth, the chancel being about the same length as the nave. The tower is square, with an octagonal spire, both of good proportions. The south porch is entered by a shallow four-centred arch; a small plainly moulded pointed arch opens from the porch into the church opposite to the north door, which is pointed and trefoiled, with all the plainness of plate tracery, and is of fine character. The roof is of oak, covered with heavy lead.

The most remarkable feature in the church is a stone screen between the nave and the chancel. It is 5 ft. 4 in. high, and has on the nave side, on either half, three panels with raised perpendicular tracery surmounted by an embattled parapet pierced with four open quatrefoils. Another peculiarity in the structure of the whole building is the unusual irregularity of the levels of different parts. The chancel is about 5 ft. higher than the entrance at the south porch, and the original base at the north door is nearly 4 ft. higher than the same point. These are met by a step at the south door and another at the north aisle, in one direction, and by three steps at the entrance to the chancel and one near the altar, in the other, and a general fall of the floor from north to south and east to west. I also noticed in the north wall, close to the tower, a set-off in the courses of the stone just above the ground, which may have been intended to meet the fall of the ground at that spot. In fact, the building seems to have been built so as to fit the sloping ground on which it stands, and so that no part of the interior should be below the level of the soil immediately on the outside. This would, doubtless, obviate the damp which would have arisen from the greater height of the earth outside, if the higher parts within had been sunk to the level of the south porch.

Mr. Barber's view is that "the inhabitants of Chelmorton, in the sixteenth century, were earnest men, seeking to rebuild and enlarge God's house honestly and well, and with native energy sufficient to deal with and overcome, in a characteristic way, obstacles which some architects of the present day would spend large sums of money in reducing, with, in all probability, a less satisfactory result."

I will now turn to the sepulchral slabs. Some of these are in good condition. Two (Nos. 5 and 6) have been pre-

served by being built into the chancel walls ; in others by being covered a yard deep in soil till within the last twenty or thirty years. The slabs all decrease regularly in breadth, from the end where the head of the cross is to the other extremity. They vary from 2 ft. to 18 in. in breadth at the broader end, and are considerably less at the foot. I have no doubt that they all lay flat upon the ground, in their original position. They are only hewn on the front, and on the ends and edges, the back being extremely rough ; indeed so much so, that I think it could not have rested upon any base or stone-work below. Several of the stones appear to be still in their original position. These are on the south side of the church and west side of the porch, and were those covered with earth ; I believe that there is no building under them. The smallest slab lies in the church, close to the tower. About a third of the breadth of No. 6 had been cut away, in order to insert it in the sedilia.

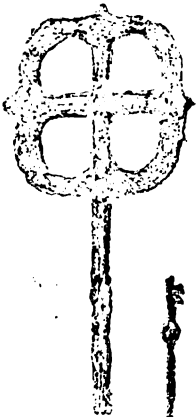
The dimensions of these cross-slabs are as follows :—

No. 1. Part of a slab, 2 ft. 10 in. long ; breadth of the cross, 1 ft. 3 in. ; length of the key, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 2. Part of a slab, 2 ft. 2 in. long ; breadth of the cross, 11 in. ; length of the dagger, 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 3. Length, 5 ft. 11 in. ; breadth of the cross, 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; length of the sword, 3 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. No. 4. Part of a slab, 4 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. long ; length of the sword, 3 ft. 9 in. This cross seems to have been like No. 6. No. 5. Length, 5 ft. ; breadth of the cross, 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; length of the sword, 3 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 6. Length, 5 ft. 5 in. ; breadth of the cross, 1 ft. 7 in. ; length of the shears, 12 in. No. 7. Length, 6 ft. 5 in. ; breadth at the top, about 2 ft., at the bottom, 1 ft. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. No. 8. Length, 6 ft. 4 in. ; breadth at the top, 1 ft. 10 in., at the bottom, 1 ft. 1 in.²

I would invite attention, not only to the crosses themselves, but to the emblems accompanying them, as well as to their age, and their signification. Possibly there may be little doubt that those with swords indicate warriors (see figs. 2, 3, 4, 5) ; is there, however, any peculiarity that may serve to indicate what class of warriors they were ? In Notes and Queries there has recently been a discussion as to the monuments of Knights Templar, in which it was doubted

² The representations of the crosses were obtained by paper rubbings from the slabs, and are here reproduced by the

new process invented by Mr. Hancock, of 6, St. Germaine's Villas, Lewisham.



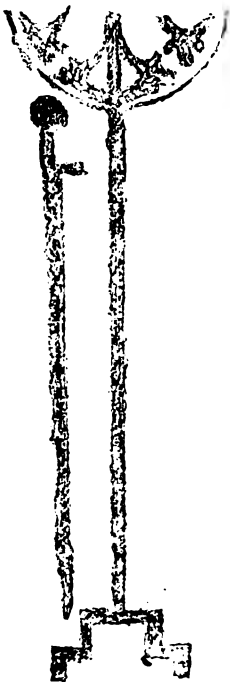
1



2



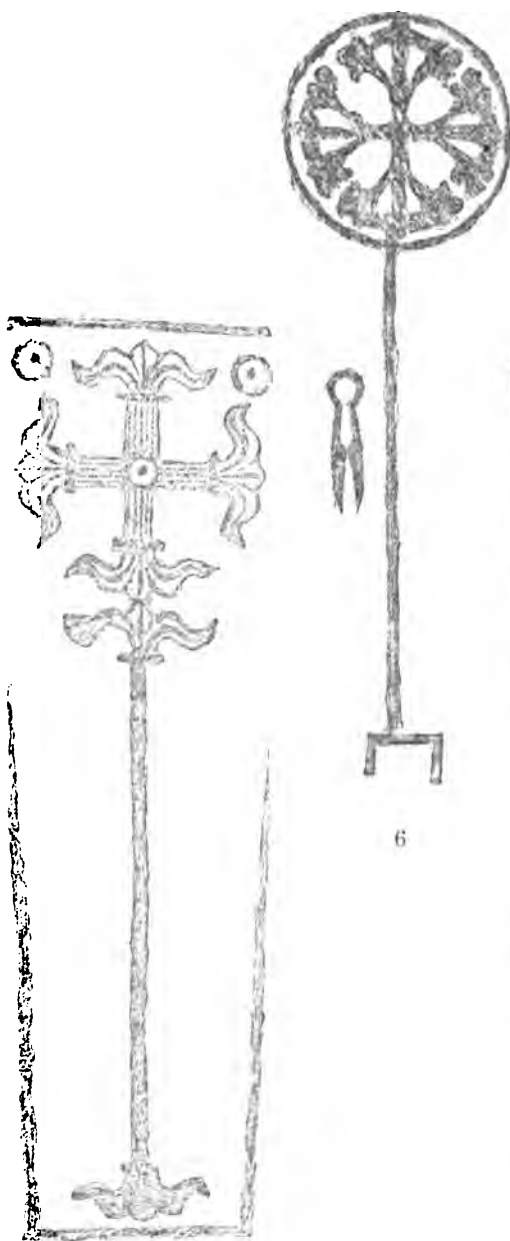
3



4



5



7



6



8

whether they were ever buried under altar or raised tombs. May these slabs mark the graves of any of those knights ?³

Then what do the shears signify (fig. 6) ? In *Notes and Queries*, 4th s., vol. iii. p. 29, there is an account of brasses at Cirencester on which shears occur; these brasses are supposed to be memorials of sheepowners who exported large quantities of wool. Possibly, therefore, the shears may denote farmers; and there is no doubt that considerable numbers of sheep have been for ages pastured in the hilly districts of Derbyshire. Some persons have supposed that the shears denote a woolstapler or clothier; others have supposed that they may denote the burial-place of a woman. It seems to me to be an objection to the supposition that the shears denote a woman, that all the emblems of this class, whose signification are known, denote some profession, trade, or calling. In fact, their use is to distinguish, in the case of men, one man from another; and the natural inference is that those emblems, the meaning of which is doubtful, were used for a similar purpose. An emblem, which simply denoted a man or a woman, would in fact be no distinguishing mark at all.⁴

Next I must advert to the symbol of the key (fig. 1); this has been supposed to denote a blacksmith. At Bakewell there is a cross with a key on one side and shears on the other, and two similar crosses may be seen at Aycliffe, Durham.⁵ These crosses, therefore, must denote some person to whom both those emblems applied.

³ See in the *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxvi. p. 86, some observations by Mr. Nesbitt on cross-slabs at Bosbury, Herefordshire, memorials possibly of Templars.

⁴ The shears and key occur together on a slab at Bamborough, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. v. p. 256; on another at Newbigging, two keys accompany the shears. A slab at Darlington bears two crosses; that on the right with a sword, the other with two keys. *Cutts' Cross-slabs*, pl. 62. The only slabs in the northern counties noticed by Dr. Charlton as bearing inscriptions to females have the shears, and the same symbol is found on a memorial of a lady at Norton, Northamptonshire. *Cutts*, pl. 66; see also p. 42, *ibid.* At Blidworth, Notts, the shears are of the fashion of modern scissors, working on a central pin. The shears repeatedly occur on the rich sculptured slabs at Iona and in Western Scotland, noticed *Arch. Journ.*,

vol. xiv. p. 88. As regards the key, the supposed symbol of a female, it may deserve consideration that it was accounted in old times the sign of domestic authority; and as such was presented in the nuptial ceremony. In a divorce the key was rendered up. See *Ducange v. Claves remitters*. It is remarkable that in Anglo-Saxon interments the remains of women are not infrequently accompanied by keys. Compare Mr. Akerman's notice of this usage, in his excavations in Berkshire, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 331, 334; vol. xxxix. p. 135. See the *Laws of Canute*, c. 77, concerning the custody of the keys, the insignia of the mistress of the house.—A. W.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. iv. No. 10, p. 49; vol. v. p. 256, fig. 8. In No. 11, in the present memoir, the blunt ended shears may have been for shearing the nap of cloth.

I would request particular attention to two fine crosses (Nos. 7, 8), which have no emblem on either side of the stem, but are so remarkable in their upper part. I should infer that they denote two persons of the same class, but differing in rank or degree, and perhaps ecclesiastics. They vary from all the series, in the carvings upon them being in low relief, whilst those on the others are incised.

Whilst this memoir was in the press, in taking down the transept wall another cross-slab has been discovered, which differs much from the rest. The cross is inscribed in a circle, having a diameter of nearly 11 in. ; whilst the stem of the cross is only 6 in. long, from the circle to a single step at the bottom of the stem. The stem, as well as the parts of the cross within the circle, are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide ; and the cross forms four equal segments out of the remaining space within the circle. There is no emblem in this case.

As to the age of cross-slabs of the kind here figured, I may state that at Bakewell and Darley, as well as at Chelmorton, some were found in or under the walls, and had been used as building materials. This shows, not only that they are older than those walls, but that at the time they were built the cross-slabs were no longer held in reverence.

At Bakewell and at Darley some of the crosses have been set up, in each instance, on the inside of the porch, and Mr. Foulger contemplates either doing this at Chelmorton, or placing the slabs together, with an iron railing around them.

In concluding this brief account of the numerous cross-slabs existing at the church of Chelmorton, it may be scarcely necessary to point out the remarkable similarity in certain details that they present, as compared with other like memorials existing in the same county, at Bakewell and elsewhere, as previously noticed. The occurrence of six slabs of this description to be seen in the churchyard at Chelmorton had been stated, in 1847, by the Master of University College, in a valuable memoir on a large series of grave-slabs brought to light in the foundations of Bakewell Church, about 1840.⁶ Dr. Plumptre supposed that upwards of seventy examples

⁶ Arch. Journ., vol. iv. p. 54. Not less than fifty-seven slabs or fragments of slabs and head-stones were to be seen at Bake-

well; eighteen were in the possession of the late Mr. Bateman ; see his *Vestiges of Antiquities of Derbyshire*, pp. 183, 186.

CHELMORTON CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

had been preserved, and that at least four times that number, in broken condition, had been used again in building the new walls. He was of opinion that the date of these memorials is, for the most part, prior to the middle of the thirteenth century, and that a considerable number might be earlier than 1110.

I may refer the reader who desires to investigate more fully the various types, the symbols occurring on cross-slabs, and the characteristic features by which their date may approximately be ascertained, to the *Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. E. L. Cutts, in which a large series of examples has been figured. Many notices of memorials of this interesting description have also been given from time to time in the *Archaeological Journal*. See a memoir by Dr. Charlton, M.D., in vol. v. pp. 252-258, on slabs in Northumberland and Durham, with special reference to the symbols that they bear, the sword, hammer and pincers, key, the fish, &c., the shears or scissors, also, regarded as indicating the memorial of a female. Amongst numerous other examples of grave-slabs bearing floriated crosses, incised or in low relief, and of the symbols accompanying them, may be cited vol. i. p. 400; vol. ii. p. 210; vol. iii. p. 164 (a very remarkable specimen at Hexham); vol. iv. p. 60 (a slab in Brougham Church, Westmoreland, bearing a sword and a round buckler); vol. vi. pp. 78, 194, and 394; vol. vii. pp. 180, 196; and vol. viii. p. 203. Two very elaborate slabs at Llandudno, Caernarvonshire, on each of which is introduced a pair of star-shaped brooches, the symbols probably of ladies there interred, are figured, *Archæol. Cambr.*, third series, vol. ii. p. 60. Many good examples have been figured in *Gough's Sepulchral Monuments*, in *Lysons' Magna Britannia*, and in other topographical works.⁷

The Institute is indebted to the friendly liberality of the Author for the illustrations that accompany the foregoing Memoir.

⁷ See also observations by Mr. Way, on incised stone slabs, in the central counties and other parts of England, including those with effigies, &c., *Arch. Journ.*,

vol. i. p. 210. Directions for obtaining rubbings or facsimiles of such memorials are there given, p. 211.

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF THE ARMOURY IN THE CASTLE OF AMBOISE IN TOURNAINE, IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XII. Dated A.D. 1499.

THE following Document, preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, has been published in the "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes," with explanatory notices by M. Le Roux de Lincy.¹ That valuable collection of memoirs and materials is comparatively little known to those in our own country who devote attention to the history, the manners and customs, and to the documentary memorials of the Middle Ages, to which the contents of the serial in question, extending to many volumes, principally relate. The remarkable Inventory, now for the first time brought under the notice of the archæologist in this country, cannot fail to prove acceptable, especially to those who take interest in the history of Mediæval Armour and Arms. It includes, moreover, items of special note as associated with personages and with events of stirring memories in English History. In the royal Armoury, that had been formed in the fifteenth century at the picturesque castle erected on the banks of the Loire chiefly by Charles VIII., whose favorite resort it was, were preserved relics of such rare interest to ourselves as the complete equipment of the Maid of Orleans, the brigandine and salade covered with black velvet, much worn, that had been used by Talbot, very possibly the same which was torn rudely from his corse on the fatal field of Chatillon; the sword, also, given by Robert Bruce to his royal son-in-law, who at a later period succeeded to the realm of France as Louis XII., and that of King John taken prisoner by the Black Prince on the field of Poitiers.

A memorial of this description cannot fail to suggest how curious and interesting a treatise might be presented by the enumeration of a special series of arms and armour selected as objects of traditionary or historical note, accompanied also by critical notices of such other remarkable relics of that nature as may still exist. The treasures formerly preserved at Amboise have been hopelessly dispersed; I am not aware that a single item in the following category can now be identified with any object to be found in numerous well-stored European depositories. It were to be desired that some zealous archæologist, well skilled in the military antiquities of the Middle Ages,—our valued friend, for instance, the exponent of "Armour and Weapons in Europe, from the Iron Period of the Northern Nations,"—might be willing to place before us a special dissertation on noteworthy relics of this description, including likewise such

¹ Inventaire des Vieilles Armes conservées au Chateau d'Amboise du temps de Louis XII.; Bibliothèque de l'École

des Chartes, ii^e. Série, tom. iv. p. 412; Paris, 1848.

as are to be found only in hazy traditions of Mediæval Romance or of Northern Sagas. In such a suggestive and highly interesting series we might hope to find the renowned brand "*Durandal*," wielded by the paladin, and associated with the picturesque tradition of the "*Brèche de Roland*," on the frontier heights of the Pyrennees;³—the inimitable blades forged by that mysterious craftsman, Weland;⁴—the sword of King Hacon the Good, which as Snorro tells us was designated "*Kuernbit*" (millstone-biter), and that of Magnus Barfot with its hilt of rosmar-tooth, and named "*Leggbitr*." Many a remarkable weapon moreover, mentioned in ancient chronicle or document, would augment the value of such an *Armamentarium*. I might advert to the sword of Poitou steel, the work of Galannus, that Geoffry le Bel, according to the chronicler Jean de Marmoutier, took from the Treasury of his father Fulk, Earl of Anjou; to the sword also of Tristram, anciently preserved amongst the *Jocalia* of the crown, and mentioned in the Patent Roll, A.D. 1207, with the great crown which came from Almayne and other precious regalia that were delivered to King John at Clarendon.⁴

The ancient tradition to which I have adverted that may have associated one of the three swords borne, on solemn occasions, before the Sovereign of England with the heroic knight of the Round Table, seems lost in dim obscurity. The weapon may have been regarded as the sword won from Sir Marhaus, brother of the Irish queen, when Tristram undertook to be the champion of his father Meliodas, king of Cornwall, and borne by him in his adventures at the Court of King Arthur. We might doubtless have expected to find amongst the three swords long treasured with the ancient regalia of Britain, not the weapon of the valiant Cornish knight, but that connected with the fable of romance,—the mysterious blade taken by Arthur out of the anvil fixed in a stone block before the high altar of the metropolitan church, and drawn out by him in token that, as had been signified by the necromancer Merlin, he should be recognised as rightful sovereign of Britain.

In the subjoined list of weapons will be found that "*nommée l'espée du roy Jehan*" (No. 13), doubtless the King of France taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, Sept. 19, 1356. It does not appear that this sword had been preserved as having been used by him on that occasion, when,

³ The corpse of Roland, according to tradition, was removed by Charlemagne to the church of St. Romain at Blaye (Gironde); his sword *Durandal* was laid at his head, his oliphant at his feet. In the "*Belle description*" of precious relics in the Treasury at St. Denis, as described by the Père Doublet, we find "*le cor d'ivoire du preux chevalier et prince Roland*." *Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denys*, p. 347.

⁴ See notices of Weland in Mr. Hewitt's *Armour and Weapons in Europe*, vol. i. p. 41, and in works there cited; several remarkable weapons named in the Sagas are there also mentioned.

⁵ Documents appended to the *Liber Niger*, edit. Hearne, vol. i. p. 461. De *Jocalibus Regis*; Lit. Pat. 9 Joh. This early list of *regalia* enumerates "*duos*

enses, scil. ensem Tristrami et alium ensem de eodem regali, et calcaria aurea de eodem regali." Three swords were borne before Richard I. at his coronation, and of these probably the sword of Tristram was one. In the Inventory of the Regalia of Edward III., in 1356, with the coronation vestments, the gold spurs, &c., in the Treasury at the Tower, there were three swords, one of them called *Courtane*. *Kal. of the Exch.*, vol. iii. p. 226. In 1649 three swords, with rich scabbards of cloth of gold, were found amongst the regalia at Westminster Abbey. The three swords carried at the coronation of James II., and figured by Sandford, pl. I. p. 40, were doubtless of recent fabrication, and of one uniform fashion.

as Froissart relates, the king "fit merveilles d'armes, et tenoit une hache de guerre, dont bien se deffendoit."⁵ The chronicler has given us a curious picture of the struggle that occurred for the prize of such a captive: more than ten knights and esquires surrounded the king, and "disoyent les plus forts, je l'ay prins, je l'ay prins," as they bore him along on foot to the Black Prince. It is not surprising that in such a disorderly *mêlée* several competitors should have sought to substantiate their claim to the actual capture by bearing off some portion of the royal equipment. It appears, however, from Froissart that John yielded to Denis de Morebeque, a knight of Artois, and gave to him as a token his right glove, crying "Je me rends à vous," but the prisoner was speedily borne away by the crowd of English and Gascons. Sir John de Pelham and Sir Roger la Warre have been named as English knights most concerned in the capture, as commemorated by the badges that they assumed, respectively, and which are still borne by their descendants. The former took the Buckle, namely, that according to tradition of the king's belt or *renge*; it is found on seals and other memorials occasionally accompanied by a cage as a crest, in allusion probably to the captivity of the king.⁶ Sir Roger took the chape or *bouterolle* of the scabbard, in token of his share in the achievement. It is figured by Gerard Legh as borne by Lord La Warre in the reign of Henry VIII., and described as a "cram-pette Or geven to his auncestors for takyng of the Frenchkyng in fiede."⁷ Sir Roger appears to have been of a collateral branch of the La Warre family that had considerable possessions at Brislington and elsewhere in Somerset.⁸ Another branch was settled at Hestercombe, near Taunton, in the same county. I have been informed by the late talented antiquary, the Rev. F. Warre, that in the hall of the residence of his family at the place last named, a sword has been preserved as a relic of the memorable conflict at Poitiers. It is described as a plain weapon, without peculiar ornament, and evidently of the earlier part of the fourteenth century; according to family tradition it was presented to Sir Roger la Warre by the Black Prince, in recognition of the part that he had taken in the capture of King John.

The sword of the Victor of Poitiers, it will not be forgotten, was formerly to be seen suspended with his helm and shield, his spurs and quilted coat of fence, over the noble portraiture on his tomb at Canterbury. The scabbard alone remains, and these precious relics have been faithfully delineated by Charles Stothard in his "Monumental Effigies." According to a tradition, the proof of which I have sought in vain to trace, the sword was appropriated by Cromwell. It has, however, been alleged that it is still in existence, and, if it could be identified, its restitution would be most desirable. The Dean of Westminster, in his

⁵ Froissart, vol. i. c. 164.

⁶ See Mr. Lowers' Memoir on the badges of the families of Pelham and De la Warr, Sussex Archæol. Coll., vol. iii. p. 211.

⁷ Accidens of Armorie, edit. 1562. The badge occurs repeatedly on the sumptuous tomb of Thomas, Lord la Warre, who died in 1526, in Broadwater Church. Sussex Arch. Coll., *ut supra*, p. 231.

⁸ See Collinson's Notices of the La Warres of Brislington, Hist. Som., vol. ii.

p. 411, and Hestercombe, vol. iii. p. 259. Sir Roger succeeded 25 Edw. III.; he was summoned to parliament 36 and 37 Edw. III. Mr. Warre informed me that the family descended from Sir John La Warre, the younger, Warden of Kenilworth Castle, *i.* Henry III. They used the same crest as the elder branch, a griffin's head, with the addition of the crampet in its beak.

delightful "Memorials of Canterbury," has given a letter from the Rev. A. D. Wray, Canon of Manchester, stating that he had often held the relic in his hands, and that it had been, as late as 1809, in possession of the late Mr. Barritt, of that city. The blade bore, in golden letters, inlaid, EDWARDVS WALLIE PRINCEPS; it was described as "a little curved, scimitar-like;"—the fashion of the weapon seems more suitable to the times of a Tudor Edward.

Of other like objects associated, perhaps on questionable authority, with memorable historical events, I might mention the sword of Hugh de Moreville, a relic of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, long treasured at Carlisle Cathedral. It is mentioned by Camden, and supposed to exist at Brayton Castle, near Whitehaven.

There are on record many examples of similar objects of more or less historical interest. In the Treasury at St. Denis, for instance, the precious contents of which were scattered in the revolutionary paroxysm of 1793, a few portions only having been preserved, there were five swords of no slight value. They included the sword ascribed to Charlemagne, and that of St. Louis—"de très bonne trempe, avec laquelle il a exploité plusieurs beaux faicts d'armes contre les mérovyans pour la propagation, accroissement, et dilatation de la saincte Foy;"—to these allusion is made by M. Le Roux de Lincy in the subjoined highly interesting notices. There were also two other weapons, enumerated with the precious contents of the Treasury by the Père Doublet, a monk of St. Denis, namely, the weapon set with sapphires, amethysts, and other jewels, that was ascribed to Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, chancellor in the times of Charlemagne,—*"de laquelle il a faict maints exploits d'armes contre les Infidelles,"*—and also, *"autre espée de très-bonne trempe, garnie au milieu de son pommeau de deux esmaux d'or, l'un de nostre Dame, et l'autre d'un soleil, qui est celle de la très valeureuse Pucelle Jeanne."* Whether this had been recognised traditionally as that mysterious sword, brought at her request from the chapel of St. Catherine de Fierbois,—the sacred weapon marked with five crosses, and alleged to have been almost miraculously brought to light in a vault near the altar, through a revelation to the Pucelle, by whom it was borne in her subsequent deeds of valor,—I am not able to state. There was, however, another relic of the like description that existed until the close of the last century, an object of singular interest to the English antiquary, namely, the sword of the valiant Talbot. In the old metrical narrative of the Fight of Flodden Field, it is stated that it had been found in the "river of Dordan," and sold by a peasant to an armourer at Bourdeaux. It bore the inscription,—*SUM TALBOTI · 1443 · PRO VINCERE INIMICO MEO.*¹ Camden, in his Remains, mentions the discovery of this sword in the Dordogne. It was subsequently in the Treasury at St. Denis; no mention of such an object, however, occurs in the minute inventories given by Doublet and Felibien. The sword was carried off by the revolutionary mob, with the rich contents of that depository, in 1793; a considerable portion, including the swords, was rescued and ultimately sent to the Cabinet of Antiquities at the National Library.² Of the sword of Talbot all trace

¹ Doublet, *Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denys*, 1625, liv. i. p. 347.

² According to Speed, the inscription ran somewhat more intelligibly—"Vin-

cere inimicos meos."

³ On the night of 11 Nov., 1793, the whole of the *Treasure* was hastily thrown into large wooden chests and transported

has perished. I made diligent but fruitless research about 1840, when, through the courtesy of the administration, the old registers and evidence relating to the objects acquired from the spoils of St. Denis were placed before me. An entry indeed appeared to prove that the sword of Turpin and that of the great English captain had actually reached the *Cabinet*, but in subsequent changes and troublous times they had disappeared.

In the Armoury of Louis XII., here described, there appear to have been two of the state swords of a peculiar and interesting class, to which our attention has been formerly invited by Mr. Waterton; namely, a sword sent to Louis XI. by Pope Callistus II., and a second by Pius II. (Nos. 7, 15). Mr. Waterton has carefully investigated the subject of the noble weapons blessed on Christmas Eve by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and for the most part solemnly presented with a ducal cap, blessed on the same occasion. A specimen, bearing the arms and names of Sixtus V., is in Mr. Waterton's possession, and it has been described in this Journal, vol. xxiv. p. 35, with notices of other objects of the like description. The Blessed Gifts, commonly bestowed on the most faithful son of Holy Church, were recently conferred by Pius IX. on the Emperor of the French. The brief notice may be acceptable to some of our readers that, in our country, the Sword and *pileum* had been sent repeatedly;—to Edward IV. by Sixtus IV., about A.D. 1478; to Henry VII. by Julius II. in 1505; to Henry VIII. by the same pope in 1513;—to Philip and Mary by Julius III. in 1555: in this, as in some other instances, a golden rose also was presented to the consort of the potentate distinguished by the favor of the Pontiff;—to James IV., King of Scots, by Julius II. in 1507: this superb two-handed sword is preserved as part of the regalia of Scotland;—and lastly to James V. by Paul III. in 1537.*

I proceed to submit to the reader the Inventory of the Armoury of Louis XII., accompanied by the illustrative notices by M. Le Roux de Lincy, by which its value and interest have been so greatly enhanced.

MS. BIBL. IMP. NO. 49, FONDS DES BLANCS-MANTEAUX: FOL. ON PAPER.
(FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. MELAN DE KYEDAN.)

Meubles estans en l'armeurerie du chasteau d'Amboise, en laquelle sont les anciennes armeures qui de tout temps ont esté gardées et fait garder par les Roys deffuncts jusques à présent. Extraictz sur ung inventoire faict à Amboise, le xxii^e jour de Septembre, l'an mil iiii^e iiij^e dix-neuf.—Signé, R. de Dezest, desquelz la déclaration s'ensuit.

by decrees of the Convention in waggons, escorted by a tumultuous multitude, eager to display abhorrence of "le vieux despotisme." Monographie de l'Église Royale de St. Denis; par le Baron de Guilhermy; Paris, 1848, p. 54.

* The "great two-handed sword garnished with sylver and guylte, presented to King Henry VIII. by the Pope," occurs in the Inventory of the Regalia of James I., in 1605. Kal. of the Exch., vol. ii. p. 306. It came into the possession of Ashmole, and is now in the museum founded by him at Oxford. Catal. Ashm. Mus., p. 140. It has been stated that this

sword had been given by Leo X. It was, however, blessed and conferred by his predecessor. Hall and other chroniclers relate the presentation in St. Paul's, in May, 6 Henry VIII. (1514), when Leo X. was actually pontiff, his predecessor having died at the council held at Rome in the previous February. Art. de Verifier, t. i. p. 424. Mr. Waterton has in preparation a dissertation and enumeration of these solemn gifts from the Holy See; one of the latest instances was the sword conferred by Leo XII. on the Dauphin, son of Charles X., in 1825.

Premièrement :—

1. Une dague enmanchée de licorne, la poignée de cristalín ; nommée la dague saint Charlemaigne.

2. Une espée enmanchée de fer, garnie en façon de clef ; nommée l'espée de Lancelot du Lac ; et dit-on qu'elle est fée.

3. Une espée d'armes garnie de fouet blanc ;⁴ et au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung souleil de l'autre, nommée l'espée de la Victoire.

4. Une espée d'armes garnie de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung souleil de l'autre, nommée l'espée du roi Charles VII., appelée la Bien-armée.

5. Une autre espée d'armes, la poignée de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau y a une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, de l'autre costé ung souleil ; nommée l'espée du Roy qui fonda Saint-Denis.

6. Une espée d'armes, la poignée couverte de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau a une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung saint Michel de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du roy de France qui fist armes contre ung géan à Paris et le conquist.

7. L'espée aux armes du pape Caliste ; le fourreau garny d'argent doré, et ung chappeau de veloux cramoisy garny et semencés de perles, que le Roy que Dieu pardoint fist mettre en son armeruerye.

8. Une espée d'armes, la poignée de fouet blanc ; au pommeau d'un costé a Nostre-Dame, et de l'autre costé ung saint Michel. Et fut à Jehan de Brézé, lequel en couppa le poing à ung homme d'armes, aveques le canon et le gantelet.

9. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc ; au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et saint Michel de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du roy d'Escosse qui fust fort hardy, laquelle fut donnée au feu roy Loys, quant il espousa madame la Dauphine.

10. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, le pommeau long, d'un costé ung Nostre-Dame, de l'autre costé ung saint Martin ; nommée la bonne espée du roy Loys qu'il avoit à la conquête qu'il fist premier sur les Suysses, nommée Estrefuze.

11. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, ung pommeau long en façon de cueur esmaillé blanc et rouge ; nommée l'espée du roy Charles Septiesme, qu'il porta sur son courset.

12. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, le pommeau en façon d'un cueur où il y a quatre lozenges, deux d'un costé et deux de l'autre ; nommée l'espée de Philippe le Bel.

13. Une espée garnie de fouet blanc, la poignée sans esmail ; nommée l'espée du roy Jehan.

14. Ung cousteau en façon de semeterre ; nommé le cousteau de saint Pierre de Luxembourg.

15. Une espée le fourreau blanc, la poignée garnie de boys ; au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et un saint Martin de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du pape qu'il envoya au roy Loys.

16. Une espée garnie de cuir rouge à long pommeau ; nommée l'espée du Géan qui fust conquis par ung roy de France en l'isle Nostre-Dame.

17. Une espée longue rabatue, à creusetz pendans, qui fut au conte de Vistambert.⁵

⁴ Query, bound around the handle with white leather, cut in strips, and some-

times technically termed "whipped."

⁵ Furstemberg.

18. Une espée la poignée de cuir rouge ; nommée l'espée qui fut trouvée en ung fondement de boulevard de la porte neuve de Toura. Et fut trouvé au piés une beste dont la teste tenoit cinq au⁶ six seaulx d'eau.

19. Une dague à rouelle de boys, emboestée en ung estuy de cuir, que feu roy Loys faisoit tousjours porter quant et luy.

20. Une hache à une main, qui fut au roy saint Loys.

21. Une autre hache à deux mains, autresfois esmaillez de fleurs de lix, qui fut audit roy saint Loys.

22. Une hache à deux mains, qui estoit à ung roy de France qui conquist le Géan en l'isle Nostre-Dame à Paris.

23. Une hache en façon de coignée, le manche long ; nommée la hache du Grant Turo.

24. Une hache ouvree ; nommée la hache du roy Clovys, premier roy christian.

25. Une hache à trois pointes de dyamant ; nommée la hache de messire Bertrand de Clasquin.⁷

26. Une hache couverte toute de fer ; nommée la hache que ung roy de France conquesta sur un payan à Paris ; qui fut trouvé au Louvre à Paris.

27. Une hache à deux mains, en façon de fleurs de litz ; nommée la hache d'un Allemant qui fist tant d'armes à Nuz.

28. Une espée d'armes, le fourreau de veloux noir, qui fut audit feu roy Charles Huitiesme, laquelle il avoit à l'arson de sa selle à la journée de Fornauve.

29. Une autre espée, le fourreau de veloux noir, que ledit feu roy Charles Huitiesme avoit en sa main à ladicte journée de Fornauve.

30. Ung fer de lance court, à trois guerres tranchans.

31. Harnoys de la Pucelle, garny de gardebrax, d'une paire de mytons, et d'un habillement de teste, où il y a ung gorgeray de maille, le bort doré, le dedans garny de satin cramoisy, doublé de mesme.

32. Une brigandine de Tallebot, couverte de veloux noir tout usé, et sa sallade noire couverte d'un houlx de broderie fait sur veloux noir tout usé.

33. Unes vieilles brigandines longues, couvertes d'un vieil drap d'or rouge, le haut fait en façon de cuirasse, et le bas en lemme⁸ d'assier, et ung bort de sade,⁹ fermé à boucle au costé gauche.

34. Une autre vieille brigandine assise sur veloux noir vieille, usée, le haut du devant en façon de curasse, et le demourant de lemme.

35. Item, environ quinze ou seize sallades et bassinets à la mode antique, sans savoir ne déclarer à qui ilz ont servy.¹

36. Item, cinq ou six habillemens de teste faiz de boys, les aucuns couvers à bandes de fer et de cuir, le tout de petite valeur et sans aucuns titres à qui ilz ont esté.

Et en la fin du dit inventaire y a escript en deux articles ce qui s'en-suit :—

⁶ Sic in MS.

⁷ Duguesclin.

⁸ Lames d'acier.

⁹ Query, an ornamented border, polished, or the like ?

¹ See in this Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 20, a valuable memoir by Mr. Hewitt on the various forms of the *Salade*, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Nota. Que j'ay les belles testes de cerf apportez de Meun sur Yèvre, et d'autres testes de par deçà.

Et aussi les orgues apportez de Naples, que j'ay voulu bailler a Jacques l'organiste par plusieurs foiz, pour ce que la Royne le m'avoit commandé.

Et oultre le receveur Briçonnet donna au feu Roy, que Dieu pardoint, une table de Flandres paincte, lequel après qu'il eut veue me dist que c'estoit pour ung marchand, et qu'il n'en vouloit point, et qui la me donnoit ; et de fait la me donna.

Fait (à) Amboise, le xxij^e. jour de Septembre, mil iiij^e. iiij^{xx}. xix.

Signé :

R. DE DEZEST.

The foregoing inventory, the earliest document of this nature that has come to our knowledge, supplies the first instance, it is believed, of the collection of arms which had belonged to distinguished warriors. Mention is here made of a number of weapons associated with the names of royal personages. It may be desirable to place these before our readers in chronological order.

The most ancient weapon described as preserved in the Armoury of the Castle of Amboise is the battle-axe, or *hache*, of Clovis (No. 24) ; next in order are, the sword of Dagobert (No. 5), the dagger of Charlemagne (No. 1), two battle-axes of St. Louis (Nos. 20, 21), the sword of Philippe le Bel (No. 12), that of John, taken prisoner at Poitiers (No. 13), two swords of Charles VII. (Nos. 4, 11), four swords and a dagger of Louis XI. (Nos. 7, 9, 10, 15, 19), and two swords wielded by Charles VIII. at the battle of Fornoua, July 6, 1495 (Nos. 28, 29).

Mention is made of two swords and two axes (Nos. 6, 16, 22, 26), as having been used either by the King of France who slew a giant at Paris, in the Ile Notre-Dame, now called the Ile de la Cité, or by the said giant. This singular mention of a fabulous incident in the history of Paris is a proof of the popular acceptance of the tradition that has been recorded by Corrozet, the first writer who attempted to compile a connected History of the City. He thus relates the story :—"Aucuns recitent (toutesfois je ne l'ay trouvé en autheur certain) que, regnant le dit empereur Charles le Grant, Paris fut assiégée d'un géant nommé Ysoire, contre lequel l'empereur envoya plusieurs de ses courtisans et chevaliers, lesquels furent vaincus par le géant. Finablement Isoire fut occis par Guillaume d'Orenge surnommé au Court nez, et délivra la ville de la persecution du siege."² Subsequently, under the year 978, mention occurs of another giant³ :—"Durant le règne dudit Lotaire fut la ville de Paris assiégée par un prince danois nommé Haastendames accompagné de xv. mil hommes, entre lesquels estoit un géant nommé Betelgubus de grandeur merveilleuse, lequel venir par chacun jour deffier et provoquer au combat les chevaliers francois. Le roi Lotaire estant dans Paris assiégé avec sa noblesse, sans son sceu Geoffroy, comte d'Anjou, venant à Paris au mandement du roi, se trouva où estoit le géant, lequel il combatit et lui trancha la teste." The arms enumerated in the Inventory of 1499 may doubtless be referred to either—possibly to both—of these legendary achievements ; we should, however, observe

² Les Antiquitez, histoires et singularitez de Paris, etc., 1550, f. 43 r.

³ Ibid., f. 45 r.

the change in the tradition, namely, that in each case the giant is stated to have been slain by the king himself, not, as related by Corrozet, by the hand of one of his paladins.

In regard to the arms attributed to kings of France, of the first and of the second race, are we to consider such designation apocryphal? We can scarcely hesitate as to the *hache* of Clovis, but the sword of Dagobert, if he is the personage designated as the "Roy qui fonda Saint-Denis," may possibly have been preserved; it is well known that several objects regarded as having belonged to him were kept in the Treasury of the abbey that he founded, one of these being the throne of gilt bronze actually deposited in the Musée des Souverains at the Louvre.⁴ The dagger of Charlemagne may have been thus designated on no less questionable tradition than the famous sword, called, as early as the thirteenth century "*Joyeuse*," with its elaborately chased pommel and cross-guard of gold, in the workmanship of which some antiquaries are still disposed to recognise the style of the Carlovingian period.⁵ M. Le Roux de Lincy seems, however, unwilling to accept either of these objects as having appertained to Charlemagne; but he admits that the arms attributed to St. Louis may be accounted authentic; they were, indeed, not the only weapons preserved with such a tradition. In the Treasury at St. Denis there was a long sword stated to have been brought by that king from his first expedition into Palestine, and to have been the weapon which he had often wielded against the Unbelievers.⁶ In the Inventory, moreover, of the armour and arms of Louis X., in 1316, mention is found of "un cousteau à manche de fust et de fer, qui fu S. Louys, si comme l'on dit."⁷

One of the swords attributed to Louis XI. (No. 9), is described as "l'espée du roy d'Escosse, qui fust fort hardy," and given to the king by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of James I., King of Scots; she died in 1444, whilst Louis was still Dauphin.⁸ He succeeded, in 1461. This sword had doubtless belonged to Robert Bruce.

Another sword (No. 7) described as of Louis XI., with the arms of Pope Callistus III. (1455—1458), had been sent to him previously to that subsequently mentioned in the Inventory (No. 15). It is stated

⁴ This interesting relic had been removed in 1792 to the National Library, but it was restored to the Abbey in 1843. It is stated by Felibien, in his history of that monastery, that the bronze seat was attributed to Dagobert by the Abbot Suger, who caused it to be re-gilt, in the eleventh century. M. Lenormand has given a valuable memoir on the subject in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. i., 1847-49. Dom Millet, in his *Trésor sacré de Saint-Denis*, p. 134, describes a richly-jeweled ornament, there preserved, and supposed to have been the *agraffe* of Dagobert's mantle. It is figured in Felibien's History of the Abbey, p. 539, pl. ii. R.

⁵ This sword, formerly at St. Denis, described by Dom Millet, p. 135, and Felibien, p. 543, has been figured by

Montfaucon in his *Monarchie Française*. It was used at the *sacre*, and borne by the Constable of France. It is now in the Musée des Souverains, in the Louvre, and has been minutely described by M. Barbet de Jouy, in his Notice of that remarkable collection, p. 8; where an account is also given of the gold spurs of Charlemagne.

⁶ Dom Millet, p. 135; Felibien, p. 541, pl. iii. M.

⁷ Du Cange, Gloss., under the word *Armatura*.

⁸ This alliance, it may be remembered, excited in 1436 the jealousy of England, and a fleet was dispatched by Henry VI. to intercept the betrothed Scottish princess on her passage to France. It was unsuccessful, and the Dauphiness reached La Rochelle in safety. Fordun, ed. Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 485, 501.

that it was accompanied by a "chappeau de velours cramoisy garny et semencés de perles," which the late king caused to be placed in his armoury. The second sword (No. 15), described as "l'espée du pape qu'il envoya au roy Louis," was doubtless connected with an important event in the reign of Louis XI., namely, his abolition, in 1462, of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, issued in 1438 by Charles VIII., declaring the pope subordinate to a general Council, and annulling his fiscal rights in France. It is related that, amongst other tokens of the satisfaction of Pius II. on that occasion, he sent to Louis "une épée benite avec quatre vers latins gravés sur la lame, pour en relever le prix. Louis reçut avec grand appareil ce présent par les mains du nonce Antoine de Nocetis ou de Noxe, et cette frivole cérémonie fut toute la récompense qu'il tira du sacrifice qu'il faisoit au pape." The four lines inscribed on the blade thus expressed the confident expectation of the pope that Louis would zealously unite in the armament at that time in active preparation against the Turks:—

Exserat in Turcas tua me, Lodoice, furentes
 Dexterâ, Graiorum sanguinis ultor ero.
 Corruet imperium Mahumetis, et inclyta rursus
 Gallorum virtus te petet astra duce.

We find also a weapon (No. 10) designated in the Inventory as the good sword named *Estrefuze*, that Louis XI. "avoit à la conquête qu'il fist premier sur les Suisses." Doubtless the event here referred to is the memorable conflict at St. Jacques, near Basle, Aug. 26, 1444, in which the French under command of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., engaged for ten hours with a small resolute force of the Swiss.¹ Two swords are described in the Inventory as having been used by Charles VIII. at the battle of Fornoua, July 6, 1495, one of them as an "espée d'armes" that he had at his saddle-bow, the other in his hand (Nos. 28, 29). Philippe de Commines and Brantôme relate the prowess of the King of France on that occasion, and his incredible feats of arms, mounted on his black charger called "*Savoie*."²

With these arms, ascribed to certain kings of France, there were preserved, in the chateau at Amboise, those of several renowned warriors, such as the sword of Lancelot du Lac, that of Jean de Brézé, the knife of St. Pierre de Luxemburg, the *hache* of the Great Turk, that of Bertrand du Guesclin, the armour of the Maid of Orleans, and the brigandine worn by the renowned Talbot.

In regard to the first of these (No. 2), the sword of Lancelot, the writer of the Inventory had added the significant observation,—"et l'on dit qu'elle est fée." The use of enchanted weapons is attributed to almost all the famous warriors of the Middle Ages. Such was the sword of Alexander, that named "*Escalibor*" assigned to King Arthur, the pon-

¹ Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., t. i., p. 224.

² Of a body of 1600 Swiss only ten escaped alive; it is stated that 10,000 of their adversaries perished. The fame of Swiss valor was so renowned in consequence of this exploit, as it has been stated, that Louis courted the alliance of the Cantons, and first enrolled a body of Swiss as a body-guard, a practice con-

tinued in France until the time of Charles X.

³ See Brantôme's brilliant description of the equipment of the king, who wore over his harness a rich short-sleeved *Jaquette*, or cotte d'armes, of white and violet, semé of crosslets of Jerusalem; his horse was barded of the same. *Vies des hommes illustres*, &c. Œuvres Complètes, t. ii. p. 8.

derous "*Joyeuse*" used by Charlemagne, and the "*Floberge*" of the Four Sons of Aimon. These weapons, wrought by Veland the smith or by the Elfs his successors, were gifted with magical power; such virtue, moreover, was attributed even in more recent historic times to the weapon wielded by the Cid, "*Tizon*," so often mentioned in the tales of the prowess in the *Romancero* of that renowned paladin. The like un-earthly virtues were no doubt attributed to the sword of Lancelot, one of the most celebrated heroes of the Round Table.³

Jean de Brézé, whose valorous deeds were such as to entitle his sword to a place in the royal armoury (No. 8), was only an esquire; he was sent by Charles VII., in 1441, with the Constable of France and a leader of a troop named Floquet to succour the citadel of Poissy, which was threatened by Talbot and an English force under his command. The chronicler Gilles le Bouvier, called Berry, herald at arms, writes thus of the death of Jean de Brézé, which occurred in the spring of 1442:—"Il y eust entre Evreux et le Neufbourg une rencontre entre les François et les Anglois, les François gagnèrent, mais un escuyer et capitaine des ditz François, nommé Jean de Bresay, du pays d'Anjou, y mourut, qui estoit un vaillant escuyer, dont ce fut très-grand dommage."⁴

If we consult the Lives of Saints by Baillet,⁵ who has given a detailed narrative of the acts of Peter of Luxemburg, it will be evident that the admiration in which he was held by his contemporaries was well deserved, and that the knife, in fashion of a scimitar, which had belonged to him, might claim a place amongst the precious relics in the armoury of Louis XII.

The mention of a "*hache d'armes à trois pointes de diamant*" that had belonged to Bertrand du Guesclin (No. 25) is the more curious, since it occurs for the first time in this Inventory. A sword that had belonged to that renowned commander is to be found in the Inventory of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; it is not noticed in the notes by M. de Lincy, but may here deserve to be mentioned. It is described as "*une espée de guerre, qui fut à messire Bertram de Claiquin.*" De Laborde; les Ducs de Bourgoyne, seconde partie, t. ii., p. 146.

It is difficult to determine who was the German hero that distinguished himself at the siege of Neuss, in 1474 (No. 27). Jean Molinet has, however, devoted twenty-one chapters of his Chronicle to the relation of the siege of that place, a little town on the Rhine, before which Charles the Bold saw the failure of his powers, and the beginning of the disasters that cost him his life. He mentions by name several distinguished combatants of German origin, but such there were engaged on both sides in that affair. In ch. 22 he writes also of an affair between the Burgundians and the besieged, in which "*plusieurs gentils reistres d'Allemagne furent*

³ The subject of enchanted weapons has been treated by M. de Reiffenberg, in the Introduction to the Chronicle of Philip Mouakès, part ii., Brussels, 1837, p. c., where he notices the names of swords celebrated in the romances of chivalry, and more fully in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Brussels, t. xii. See also "*Veland le Forgeron*," &c., by G. B. Depping and F. Michel, Paris, 1833, and Alfr. Maury, "*Fées du moyen âge*,"

Paris, 1843, p. 81.

⁴ Hist. de Charles VII., édit. de Denys Godefroy, Paris, 1661, p. 419. The père Anselme says—"Jean de Brézé, qui rendit de grands services à Charles VII. se signala à la prise d'Evreux en 1442, s'étant précipité témérairement lorsque les Anglais vinrent pour la reprendre, il fut tué au premier choc." Hist. Geneal.

⁵ Les Vies des Saints, &c. Paris, 1701, t. vii. p. 163.

rompus et defaicts," especially the Count De Quierburch. Was it to him that belonged the two-handed axe "en façon de fleurs de litz?"⁶

It is doubtless a point of curious interest to collect every particular relating to Jeanne d'Arc; M. de Lincy observes that the description of her armour (No. 31) in this Inventory is the more deserving of notice, because it may probably be in some degree associated with a remarkable memorial of that celebrated heroine, to which attention has only recently been drawn. Antoine Dufour, Confessor of Louis XII. and of Anne of Bretagne, was charged by that queen to compose a History of celebrated women. In the MS. of his work each section is preceded by a miniature portraying the person of whom a notice is given. The 91st relates to Jeanne de Vaucouleurs; the illumination represents the heroine on a white charger, in gilded armour, corresponding with the description of the "*harnois de la Pucelle*" preserved in the royal armoury at Amboise. If the circumstances under which Antoine Dufour compiled his work for the queen are taken into consideration, it will be evident that the illuminator may have had access to the armoury in question; there is no improbability in the supposition that it may have been available in delineating the portrait.⁷

The item that follows next after the description of the "*harnois*" of Joan of Arc is scarcely less interesting to the English reader (No. 32); it presents to us the brigandine of the valiant Talbot, which was covered with black velvet that had seen much service; also his black head-piece called a "*sallade*," likewise covered with black velvet, embroidered. It is almost in vain to conjecture whether these defences may have been part of the equipment of that celebrated warrior when he was slain in the expedition into Guyenne in 1453. The chronicler Mathieu de Coucy, who relates in full detail the fall of the English leader, makes mention of his brigandine:—"A cette sortie, dit il, fut tué ledit sieur de Talbot, lequel étoit armé d'une brigandine couverte de velours vermeil," etc.⁸ It will be seen that the color here indicated does not correspond with that of the brigandine described in the Inventory; this discrepancy is, however, not of much importance: the armour formerly preserved at Amboise may possibly have been that worn by Talbot in the fatal conflict at Châtillon. Moreover, according to the relation of the chronicler before cited, the corpse of the brave commander was completely stripped on the battle-field where he fell.

In perusing this Inventory, every item of which presents some historical association more or less interesting, the questions naturally suggest themselves, what could have been the cause of the dispersion of so precious a collection, and may it still be possible to recover any trace of the objects enumerated? In 1499, the same year in which the Inventory was compiled, the château of Amboise was almost abandoned by Louis XII., who preferred that of Blois; between 1501 and 1506 a considerable portion of the furniture that Charles VIII. had brought together into his habitual residence was transported to Blois. Possibly the armoury followed Louis in his desertion of the abode to which his predecessor had been so much

⁶ Chroniques de Jean Molinet, published for the first time by Buchon, Paris, 1827, in t. xliii. of the Collection de Chroniques Nationales, p. 188, second part.

⁷ This subject has been reproduced in the "*Femmes célèbres de l'ancienne France*," tom. i.

⁸ Math. de Coucy, Hist. de Charles VII.; Recueil de Godefroy, 1661, p. 646.

attached ; the period indeed at which the Inventory was taken seems to suggest that supposition. Francis I. and Henry II. his son made some brief visits to the château of Amboise, but the famous conspiracy of which it was the scene may probably have been the cause that the kings of France no longer resorted to that once favorite royal residence.

Possibly some remains of the collection here enumerated may have been preserved in the "*cabinet*" of Louis XIII., in which there was a fine display of arms, mentioned by one of his favorites in his Memoirs. The Marquis of Montpouillan, relating the incidents that preceded the murder of the Maréchal d'Ancre, says, alluding to the Luynes,—"*Ils appréhendoient beaucoup que l'on ne découvrit leur dessein, qui étoit que le Marquis d'Ancre venant chez le roi, il falloit que Sa Majesté l'obligeât à aller voir son cabinet, où il y avoit plusieurs sortes d'armes et surtout de beaux fusils, que Monsieur de Montpouillan auroit la commission de l'y conduire, et qu'y allant seul et étant là il tâcheroit à s'en défaire.*"⁹

It is with satisfaction that I would offer grateful acknowledgment of my obligations to the distinguished French archæologist, by whom the foregoing Inventory has been rescued from oblivion, and also for the valuable illustrative notes that accompany the document, and are so essential to enable the reader fully to appreciate the details and historical allusions connected with it. I have thankfully availed myself of this instructive commentary by M. Le Roux de Lincy, in reproducing this unique record for the gratification of English readers ; I feel assured that no one was equally competent to elucidate the points of research that he has set forth with such skill and erudition.

ALBERT WAY.

⁹ Mémoires de Jacques Nompar de Caumont la Force, Maréchal de France, et de ses deux fils, les Marquis le Mont-

pouillan et de Castelnaut, &c. ; recueillis par le Marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1843, 8vo., t. iv. p. 24.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

March 5, 1869.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

A memoir was read by Mr. C. SPRENGEL GREAVES, Q.C., on the church of Chelmorton, a village situated about midway between Buxton and Bakewell, Derbyshire; he described also numerous sepulchral cross-slabs existing there, of which he exhibited a collection of "rubblings," that have since, by his kindness, been reproduced on a small scale, in illustration of the account of these remains, given in this Journal, p. 258, *ante*.

The Rev. RICHARD KIRWAN, M.A., Vicar of Gittesham, Devon, related the results of his explorations of sepulchral barrows on Broad Down, near Honiton. He submitted to the meeting two remarkable objects there brought to light during excavations under his directions, made in July, 1868, on occasion of the meeting of the Devonshire Association at Honiton, and of which a full account has been published in the Transactions of that Society.¹ The relics brought for exhibition to the Institute consisted of a cup of bituminous shale, having a handle on one of its sides only; this unique object had been worked on the lathe; also a diminutive urn, of the class designated "incense cups;" this valuable example, in remarkably perfect preservation, is filled with burnt bones, as believed, of an infant. Mr. Kirwan proposes to prosecute further examination of the numerous barrows and other vestiges in the neighbourhood of Honiton and Sidmouth.* A more detailed account of the discoveries now brought under the notice of the Institute will be given in this Journal. Mr. Kirwan invited attention also to a large deposit in a barrow at Lovehayne, near Broad Down, of objects of bronze, celts and palstaves, probably one of the hoards concealed by some itinerant metal-founder in early times, of which numerous instances have occurred. It was stated that the deposit had comprised a mass of implements sufficient, according to tradition, to fill a wheelbarrow. They were taken to Honiton and melted as waste metal, a single specimen appears to have been preserved to the present time; but Mr. Kirwan had recently obtained at Honiton a socketed celt which he was disposed to regard as a relic of the same remarkable find, which occurred in 1768. No account of the facts had, however, hitherto been recorded; the discovery has been imperfectly noticed by the late Mr. Davidson and some other Devonshire antiquaries.

¹ Report and Transactions, Devon Assoc. for Advancement of Science, &c., vol. ii., p. 619.

Mr. HEWITT gave an account of the discovery of numerous examples of Pipes, of the earliest European form, in an ancient kiln built against the wall of the old palace of the Bishops of Lichfield. In January last (1869) some workmen, having dug to the depth of three or four feet on the east side of the present palace, came to the wall of Bishop Langton's palace, erected at the close of the thirteenth century, and destroyed by the parliamentary forces in the seventeenth. Against this stone wall a pipe manufactory had been built; the flue was clearly traceable, the floor of the kiln equally so; scorïæ, fragments of coal, pieces of unburnt clay, and several hundreds of pipes lay mixed with the soil which had buried them. One of the pipes, though perfectly moulded ready for the kiln, had not been submitted to the fire. This curious specimen has been deposited, with others, in the Lichfield Museum. The pipes found were all of the small size, characteristic of the early days of smoking, from which has arisen the popular notion that they were used by the fairies, or by other beings of a pigmy race. The depth of the bowl is about an inch, and the diameter at the top $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. The heels are of two varieties, flattened and pointed.

To account for the singular position of this kiln, it seems needful to suppose the presence of a large number of men to whom the craft of a pipe-maker would be acceptable. Two occasions in the seventeenth century offer themselves for consideration:—first, when the Roundheads were in possession of the fortress of the Cathedral Close; and next, when Bishop Hackett, at the Restoration, assembled a multitude of masons to restore the Minster, which had been partly battered down in the Civil Wars. Mr. Hewitt invited further suggestion on this point, but no other theory was proposed. On the general subject of smoking, it was urged by several members that the practice was much older than the sixteenth century in Europe; but Mr. Hewitt could not believe in the existence of pipes through the Middle Ages, as some had maintained; because we never see, among the thousands of vellum-paintings, glass-pictures, and other representations of domestic life, anything resembling a mediæval John Bull smoking his Broseley. In illustration of the diminutive size of these pipes, Mr. Hewitt exhibited some examples from Japan, brought to England by Captain Lane, R.M., in which the bowls are little more than half an inch in depth. Such pipes are smoked in Japan at the present day by the upper classes of both sexes. The stems are of cane, decorated with silver. Mr. LLEWELLYN JEWITT, F.S.A., contributed an excellent illustration of ancient European pipes in a series of woodcuts, that have been given by him in his interesting serial, "The Reliquary," vol. iii., showing how, from age to age, their forms were modified, and their capacity increased.

Mr. LAING, F.S.A. Scot., Keeper of the Signet Library at Edinburgh, communicated the following particulars regarding the use of a stamp for the royal signature in Scotland:—

"In reply to some inquiries that you made respecting the use of a stamp for the royal signature in Scotland, I am sorry I have not been able to obtain any precise information. The practice, however, was not so unusual as you seem to imagine, in reference to the paper you have belonging to me, with the stamp of Henry (Darnley) and the signature of Queen Mary. Whether there was any special act required to give validity to the use of such stamp I cannot say; but, after the Union of

the crowns, 1603, in privy council documents that required the sanction of the king's name, the necessity of having such a substitute became urgent.

"I send, for exhibition to the Archaeological Institute, specimens of such stamps, with the names of James VI. and Anna his Queen, and of Charles I. as Prince of Scotland. I also send a paper which fell into my hands at the sale of the late Mr. Lemon's books and MS. collections. It seems to be something like an official report,—it may have been intended as a communication to the Society of Antiquaries. You perhaps may be able to ascertain whether it was used in either one way or other. If not it would be well worth printing."²

The following documents were sent by Mr. Laing. The report in the handwriting of the late Mr. Lemon is reserved, to be printed hereafter in this Journal.

I. Warrant, &c., dated 18 Feb., A. R. 1 & 24 [1565-6]. George Buchanan, in his History, asserts that Queen Mary gave the charge of an iron cachet or stamp for Henry the King's signature. Goodall, in his Examination of the Queen's Letters to Bothwell, denied the existence of any such stamp, and concludes with saying,—“Although I have seen near an hundred of King Henry's subscriptions manual, I never yet met with the mark of their iron stamp” (vol i. p. 238). Buchanan's words are,—“Dauid [Rizius] etiam, quo res indignior esset, ei substituitur qui ferreo typo diplomata quædam pro Rege signaret. Ille hac fraude omni cura publica exutus,” &c.³ The original document of 1566, now exhibited, was printed in two leaves 4to, with a facsimile of the signatures, and added at a subsequent date as No. III. of an appendix to a tract, entitled, Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland in the years 1329, 1330, and 1331: Edin. 1771, 4to (by John Davidson, Esq., Writer to the Signet).—Mr. Davidson adds this note. “It is evident to ocular inspection that the King's name is put to this writing by a stamp. Buchanan, p. 343 of Ruddiman's edition, mentions the stamp. Mr. Goodall, vol. i. p. 238, denies there was such a stamp.”

II. A parchment deed, dated at Edinburgh, 10th March, 1618, with the stamps, *James R.*—*Anna R.*

III. A parchment deed, dated at Dalkeith, 28th June, 1601, with original signatures of *James R.* and *Anna R.*, the seal partially mutilated.

IV. A paper document, dated Edinburgh, 2nd March, 1624, with the stamp *Charles P.*, for Charles Prince of Scotland, countersigned by the Lords of Privy Council.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, through the Rev. R. Kirwan.—Facsimile in lead, a casting from a bronze palstave found in a barrow at Lovehayne, near Broad Down, Devon.

By the Rev. RICHARD KIRWAN.—A bronze socketed celt, recently obtained at Honiton, and probably a relic of the large deposit of objects of bronze found in 1768 in the barrow above-mentioned, in the parish of Colyton, as related in a previous volume of this Journal.⁴ It had been

² It is dated 15 June, 1830. It does not appear to have been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, or to be noticed in the Transactions.

³ Rerum Scotticarum, Liber xvii. Ruddiman's edition, vol. ii. p. 343.

⁴ See notices of Bronze Antiquities in Devon by Mr. C. Tucker, Arch. Journ.,

stated, according to one account of that remarkable find, that the hoard was "enough to fill a wheelbarrow." These celts and other objects of bronze were taken to Honiton, and unfortunately melted down, about four specimens only having been originally preserved, and of these one only is now known to exist.

By the Rev. W. GREENWELL, F.S.A.—Photograph representing an inscribed slab found at Monkwearmouth Church, Durham, in the course of excavations recently undertaken by the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland. A full account of the results will be published in their Transactions. The slab is supposed to have marked the burial-place of an abbot, mentioned in some entries in the Durham Book of Life, which are referred to the ninth century. It is sculptured with a cross somewhat Irish in character, and bears the inscription :—*HIC IN SEPULCRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE HEREBERICH PR' B.* In A.D. 674, King Ecgrifid encouraged Benedict Biscop to found a monastery at Wearmouth; according to Bede, masons were obtained from Gaul to build a church *more Romano*, and also artificers skilful in making glass. The porch is mentioned as the burial-place of certain abbots and persons of note. In the ninth century the monastery was destroyed by the pagans, and remained in ruins until the eleventh century, when the church was cleared out and repaired by Bishop Aldhune. The tower is of late Anglo-Saxon style, and may well be referred to that time. The lower part was, until the recent explorations, buried in the earth; it proved to be of earlier date than the superstructure, and is supposed to be the original porch built by Benedict, retaining a western door with peculiar mouldings; the jambs are formed with short columns and sculptured ornaments of very curious design. Within this porch was found the memorial of Herebericht.

Mr. WESTWOOD observed, that the sepulchral slab of which Canon Greenwell had placed before the Institute an admirable photograph, must be regarded as one of the most beautiful examples of the monuments of its class, and of early palæography, that exist in this country. In regard to the arrangement of the inscription, and the peculiar fashion of the cross left in slight relief on the surface of the slab, the ends of its arms being dilated quadrangularly, Mr. Westwood pointed out the resemblance to the monumental stones brought to light at Hartlepool in 1833 and 1843, and figured in the Journal of the Archæological Association.⁵ The memorial there found with the name of Hildithryth is very similar in general arrangement to that recently found at Monkwearmouth; and a circular example, of which unfortunately a fragment only was obtained, evidently bore the formula—*Hic requiescit* (or *requiescat*), *in pace*.⁶ The letters of the inscription lately found are remarkable as being pure Roman capitals of very elegant forms. There is no intermixture of the peculiar Northern angulated letters, or of other remark-

vol. xxv., where the objects above noticed are figured. See also Mr. Kirwan's Memoir on his discoveries on Broad Down, in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 619.

⁵ See the memoir by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. i. p. 186—196. Also notices by the late Mr.

Rokewode, Archæologia, vol. xxvi. pl. 52, and Mr. Kemble's Observations on Anglo-Saxon Runes, *ibid.*, vol. xxviii. p. 346.

⁶ Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., *ut supra*, p. 186. Mr. Westwood is inclined to question the accuracy of Mr. Haigh's reading of the imperfect inscription, and observes that the last letters, *CE*, are clearly *CO*.

able forms of capitals so often noticed in the fine Anglo-Saxon MSS. of early character. Astle has supplied a series of Roman capitals from one of the most valuable MSS. of its class in the British Museum, precisely agreeing with those of the Monkwearmouth slab.⁷ That MS. has been always ascribed to a very early period of Anglo-Saxon calligraphy. The very peculiar angular or V-shaped capital U that is found upon the slab occurs likewise in that MS. Mr. Westwood expressed his conclusion that the memorial should doubtless be ascribed to the seventh century, and probably may have marked the resting-place of the companion of St. Cuthbert.

By the DEAN and CHAPTER of WESTMINSTER.—A sword and helmets recently found in the "Coronation Kitchen," in the Triforium of Westminster Abbey. One of the head-pieces, a remarkable tilting-helm, date about 1500, has been described by Mr. Hewitt, and figured in this *Journal*, vol. xxv., p. 224.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., F.S.A.—A small silver box made in form of a medal, enclosing a series of miniatures illustrating the expulsion of the Lutherans from the Tyrol in 1588, and their reception in Prussia.—Dollar of Leopold, Emperor of Germany, 1693, hollowed out so as to form a shallow box, and enclosing a number of miniature paintings on talc, which represent incidents in the Life of Our Lord. On the lid and at the bottom of the box are painted two groups, the spaces where the heads occur being left clear, and the groups are so delineated as to fit so that the same faces serve for all the pictures.—Ancient Chinese carving in turquoise, representing a rocky landscape with buildings, figures, and trees. The block of stone is of most extraordinary size, weighing more than 3 lbs. avoirdupois, equal to the weight of that which was brought from the Summer Palace, but it is not carved. This sculptured specimen is probably unique.

By Mrs. JERVIS.—A miniature portrait of Charles I., painted on copper, with 21 "dresses" or shifting scenes, painted on talc, so as to be laid over the portrait, a space being left in each of the "dresses" through which the head may be seen. They were thus enumerated:—

1. Hat, with a green and white feather, and a small gold band.—
2. Scarlet soutane, scarlet cap; black moustache and "Henri Quatre."—
3. Helmet, with a white feather; on the corslet is a green band.—4. Crimson velvet cap, edged with point lace; black vest, over which is a crimson robe trimmed with brown spotted fur; an order, pendant by a green ribbon.—5. Green cap, edged with brown spotted fur; green loose robe, also trimmed with brown spotted fur. This seems to resemble a Turkish dress.—6. Black hat; scarlet mantle, thrown over left shoulder, edged with very large pearls.—7. Scarlet soutane, over which there is a green and scarlet robe.—8. Crown; a hand holding a sceptre.—9. Crown; an ermine tippet.—10. A prison window.—11. A person represented as speaking to the King (broken).—12. Two men, one of them reading a long scroll, the other holding a rod or cane.—13. A man, probably Bishop Juxon, reading a red-edged book.—14. A man holding a pair of scissors, probably to cut off the King's hair.—15. A man blindfolding the King.—16. The King in his shirt; the executioner, masked, holding

⁷ Astle, *Hist. of Writing*, Pl. 18, v., notices in Mr. Westwood's works on from Roy. MS., I. E. 6. See further mediæval palæography.

the axe.—17. "This is the head of a traitor!" The executioner holding up the head by the hair, a bloody axe in his hand.—18. The King's head in the shroud, it lies on a pillow trimmed with point lace; a sort of counterpane, trimmed likewise with lace over green, conceals the body.—19. A person is intently gazing on the shrouded head of the King.—20. The headless trunk of the King.—21. An angel's hand, holding a laurel crown.

Also a miniature portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria, painted on copper, in a yellow satin gown, with a point-lace berthe, a scarlet bow in front; the points of the curls tied with scarlet ribbon; pearl necklace. This portrait was accompanied by the following shifting dresses painted on talc:—

1. A green turban, edged with white puffing and scarlet bows; pearls and scarlet ribbons in the earrings; white puffing and scarlet bows round the corsage.—2. Yellow bodice, with white sleeves, scarlet bows, and pearls in the ears.—3. A Turkish yellow and white turban; a long veil of transparent material; red ribbons and pearls in the ears.—4. A widow's black cloak or shoulder handkerchief; and the old-fashioned widow's head-dress.

According to family tradition four sets of miniatures and dresses were made by command of Charles II., and presented to certain faithful adherents of his father. One of them was given to the Hydes, the second to the Derings, the third to the Bedingfields, the fourth, as Mrs. Jervis believes, to the Pickerings, from whom it came by gift to her great grandmother, Mrs. Ricketts (*née* Jervis) from Miss Pickering, the last of her family. Mrs. Jervis mentioned a circumstance that she had heard related by that lady, and which may seem possibly to corroborate the tradition that the miniatures had been presented by Charles II. to the Pickering family, by whom he had been received in the course of his wanderings after his escape at Boscobel. It is alleged that Charles came to their house, to seek a night's lodging, whilst disguised as the attendant of Mrs. Lane. He came in with the servants to the evening prayers, and chanced to incommode a little child of the family; giving the fugitive a push, she cried,—“Get away a little further, King!” Immediately after prayers the travellers, fearful that the secret had thus been accidentally betrayed, resumed their journey by night.^a The third of the four sets of miniatures and dressings of talc above mentioned, namely, that presented, according to tradition, to the Bedingfield family, is now, as supposed, in possession of Col. Hamilton, whose father was a younger brother of James Hamilton of Kames; by the description that he gave to Mrs. Jervis, it appears to be identical with that in her possession, with the exception that her set includes one more dress. Of the other two sets of these interesting Stuart memorials no particulars have at present been obtained.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A collection of tobacco-pipes, of varied forms, found in the kiln of an old pipe-manufactory, doubtless of the seventeenth century, at Lichfield. The particulars relating to the discovery of this kiln, the only relic of its kind, as it is believed, that has been noticed in

^a In the *Boscobel Tracts*, edited by Mr. T. Hughes, may be found the narrative by Charles II. of his adventures

with Mrs. Lane. See p. 161. The incident above mentioned is not related.

this country, have been related previously. See p. 280, *supra*.—Japanese pipes, brought to this country by Capt. Lane, R.M.; the bowls are very diminutive. A discussion arose, upon this exhibition, in regard to the earliest use of smoking. Professor Wilson, in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Dr. Collingwood Bruce and other antiquaries, had suggested that the practice may have been known from a much earlier period than has usually been supposed, and that the very small pipes of white clay, occasionally found on Roman sites and in various other places, where they have occurred in association with relics of a remote age, may be ascribed to Roman, or at least to very early mediæval times.⁹ In many parts of the British islands they have been called "Fairies' Pipes," or "Elfin Pipes;" in Ireland they have been associated with the Danish marauders of the tenth century or even of a higher antiquity. It has been alleged that hemp, coltsfoot, or other vegetable substances may have been in use for smoking long prior to the introduction of tobacco in the reign of Elizabeth. The subject has been fully discussed by the late Mr. Fairholt, in his "*Tobacco, its History and Associations*."

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A "gauntlet" pipe-bowl, of unusual size, found at Cirencester, and presented to him by Professor Buckman. This specimen was exhibited for the purpose of comparison as contrasted



"Gauntlet Pipe," of unusual size, found at Cirencester. Scale, half original size.

with those obtained at Lichfield. The only other example of the like dimensions known to Mr. Bernhard Smith was found at Buildwas, Shrop-

⁹ Wilson, *Prehist. Annals*, first edit., p. 680; Bruce's *Roman Wall*, edit. 1853, p. 441. The late Mr. Crofton Croker refuted the conjectural attribution of Elfin pipes to the Northmen, and gave many examples from the times of Eliza-

beth to the reign of William III.; *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iv. p. 28. See also Prockett's *North Country Words*, under "Fairy Pipes;" Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, &c.

shire, but it had not the "gauntlet" stamps. The bowl exhibited is here figured, on a reduced scale; the original measures 4 inches, from the heel to the mouth, the diameter of which is not less than 2 in.; it has been much smoked, and the upper part is considerably discoloured. On the inner surface of the bowl there are diagonal lines and patterns produced by minutely punctured work. In lieu of the heel or projecting spur mostly found, this pipe terminated, at the lower part of the bowl, in a flat disk, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. in diameter, impressed with a small circular stamp, eight times repeated, and charged with a right hand, or "gauntlet," on an escutcheon. A considerable collection of pipes, in possession of Mr. Bernhard Smith, was exhibited to the Institute in March, 1854, and has been noticed in this Journal;¹ the history of the manufacture, the fashion of pipes and numerous makers' stamps that they bear, was brought before the Institute, with special reference to the ancient local industry at Broseley, by Mr. R. Thursfield of that town, at the Annual Meeting of the Society at Shrewsbury, in 1855. The earliest dated example bears the mark, JOHN LEGG, 1687; many specimens occur undoubtedly of an earlier time. The most complete essay on "Fairy Pipes" is that given by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., in the Reliquary.²

The old trade-mark of the Gauntlet is mentioned by Fuller, who, in his account of the manufacture of pipes, the best being made at Amesbury, Wilts, sets forth the superior quality of "Gauntlet pipes, which have that mark on their heel," and he relates the ingenious defence of a maker who was sued for pirating the mark, and alleged that the thumb of his gauntlet stood differently to the plaintiff's, and that the hand given dexter or sinister was a sufficient difference. In the Museum at Salisbury there is a large collection of pipes, chiefly contributed by Mr. E. T. Stevens, and including several with the "Gauntlet" stamp. One of them has this device between the initials—G.—B., and surrounded by the inscription, AMESBURY • PIPES—1698. Mr. Stevens has also a specimen that equals in size that above figured; the tube is perfect, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. The bowl, elaborately ornamented with dotted patterns, is stamped repeatedly with the maker's name—JAMES FARE. This pipe was dug up at Wigan, in 1769. Aubrey writes of "tobacco-pipe clay, the best in England found at Chiltern, of which the Gauntlet Pipes at Amesbury are made by one of that name. They are the best tobacco pipes in England."

By the Rev. JAMES BECK, F.S.A.—A mace of parade, from the north of India; the handle is richly damascened with gold.

By Mr. LAMBERT.—Two nuts mounted in silver as drinking vessels.—A Reliquary, in fashion of the figure of a monk; around the hexagonal base is inscribed,—"*Lob. de la poytrine S. Vincent.*" Date about fourteenth century.—Statuettes of Italian and of German work, representing "S. Gretchen," date eighteenth century, Wallenstein, and Piccolomini.—Two specimens of Russian niello, of the work of Tula, showing the manner of transporting the "Brick Tea" overland from China to Russia.

¹ Arch. Journ., vol. xi. p. 181. Several names of makers of pipes are there given.

² Reliquary, vol. iii. p. 74, where numerous examples from Mr. Thursfield's

collection and other sources are figured. Brongniart's notice of pipes of the seventeenth century may also be consulted; "*Arts Céramiques*," vol. ii. p. 189.

April 2, 1869.

Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., F.S.A., in the Chair.

THE Chairman alluded with much regret to the great loss sustained by the Society, since they had last assembled, in the death of their valued friend and Vice-President, Sir John Boileau, Bart. For many years an energetic and practical patron of all those purposes of historical or antiquarian research, to which the Institute had devoted its efforts during the last quarter of a century, their lamented friend had won the affectionate esteem of all with whom he had been associated. Sir John, the founder and for many years the President of the Society in his county, kindred to their own, had constantly shown his most hearty encouragement by taking an active part in the annual Meetings, one of the Sections on such occasions having mostly, from the earliest days of the existence of the Institute, been under his guidance; the warm interest in their welfare evinced at all times by their kind friend, now no more, had been surpassed only by his unwearied efforts in promoting every purpose for intellectual or social advancement.

A memoir by ROBERT DAVIES, Esq., F.S.A., was read, on "the Horn of Ulphus," preserved in the Treasury at York Minster. It has been printed in this volume. See p. 1, *ante*.

Some observations were made by the Very Rev. Canon Rock, Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, and other Members, on the peculiar style of ornamentation of this sculpture in ivory, that appears to be marked by an Oriental character. It was perhaps doubtful whether the original intention of this remarkable object was for use as a drinking-vessel, in accordance with the usage of the period, as illustrated by illuminated MSS., by subjects in the Bayeux Tapestry, and by the evidence of numerous relics of art. Mr. Soden Smith adverted to several examples of carving in ivory, of Byzantine or Eastern character, not Scandinavian; and he cited as an instance the Grace Cup in possession of the Howards of Corby, that had been traditionally associated with the history of Thomas à Becket. It had been presented to Catherine of Arragon, and long treasured as a relic of very great value. The mounting of this fine cup is comparatively modern, but the ivory may confidently be ascribed, as Mr. Soden Smith believed, to the period of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A., gave a detailed account of a collection of Early Christian Finger Rings, recently obtained by him at Rome, and in other foreign parts, and brought for examination. His interesting memoir has been published in this volume, p. 137, *ante*, with numerous illustrations, mostly contributed through the kindness of the author.

Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH, F.S.A., called the attention of the Institute to the wanton destruction of a remarkable entrenchment, supposed to be of the British period, near Bristol. The remains are actually in course of removal by the Leigh Woods Building Society, for the sake of the material. This camp is known as "The Bower Walls;" it has been noticed by writers on the topography and antiquities of the locality. It has been supposed that this fortress was occupied by Ostorius in the time of the Emperor Claudius. Its destruction, merely for the sake of the

materials that it may supply for the purposes of modern speculation, was strongly deprecated; and a vote of earnest remonstrance was unanimously carried in behalf of the preservation of the camp.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

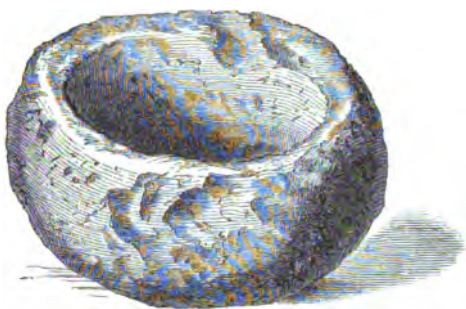
By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—Two photographs of a peculiar urn recently found at Heighington, near Lincoln. It lay at a considerable depth in a bed of sand, adjacent to the ancient course of the River Witham. The bottom of this singular vessel is formed with four feet, perforated, and presenting at first sight somewhat of the effect of a cruciform type of construction. The ware is of pale brown color; the vessel is hand-made, bearing no indication of the work of the lathe. It is, so far as we are aware, unique in fashion; it has, however, been imagined that some features of resemblance to Germanic pottery may be traced in it, although no precise counterpart has occurred, either in regard to the ornamentation, or the singular fashion of the base. The dimensions are as follows:—height, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter, at the mouth, nearly $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORNUM, F.S.A.—Twenty-five early Christian rings, of gold, silver, bronze, &c., chiefly purchased at Rome.—A bronze lamp, from the catacombs at Naples, and of Christian origin.—Two bronze fibulæ in form of doves, supposed to be Christian, and a martyr's tooth, from the catacomb of St. Callixtus at Rome.

By Mr. WALTER H. TREGELLAS, by permission of H. R. H. the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, K.G.—Portions of a bronze sword, and of a bronze javelin or blade, also part of a bronze socketed celt, and another object of the same description that has a fragment of cake-copper forced into the cavity of the socket. These weapons and relics of bronze have probably been broken up for the melting-pot, and the find may be regarded as one of the numerous instances of deposits of mutilated objects with crude metal, doubtless concealed by some bronze founder.—An axe-head, or celt, of greenstone, highly polished, much worn at the cutting edge, and also at the blunt extremity.—Two small vessels of coarse pottery, imperfect, one of them hand-made, height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the other formed on the lathe, and containing some grains of burnt wheat; height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; also some other portions of ware of coarse quality. These relics had been lately found in the George gravel pits on the estates of the Duke of Cambridge, on Kingston Hill, Coombe, Surrey, whence the antiquities previously exhibited by his Royal Highness had been found, as related in this Journal.*

By the Rev. JAMES LEE WARNER.—Objects from an Anglo-Saxon grave recently discovered at Fakenham, Norfolk. The interment had taken place at the bottom of an ancient gravel pit. The bones rested on the marl, covered by about 4 ft. of the refuse soil and gravel. Not far distant runs an early trackway, now called the Long Lane, but described in an original charter (*temp.* Hen. I.) as “*via quæ ducit de Crek ad Norvicum*”; long since deflected in its course by the later growth of Fakenham. Upon this trackway exists an extensive cemetery indicated by traces of tumuli, long since leveled, where the plough brings to light occasionally bronze tweezers, sepulchral urns, and evidence of burial by cremation.

* Arch. Journ., vol. xxv. p. 154.



Stone Cup, found in Anglesey. In possession of Miss M. Conway Griffith.
Diam. 4 in. See page 292.



Urn, found at Helghington, Lincolnshire. Height, 4½ in. ; diam., 6¼ in.

This was not the case with the interment now under notice, where the bones lay confusedly though distinct, associated with an iron blade or dagger, a cruciform bronze brooch, two smaller circular brooches or buckles, and two small laminæ of bronze, connected by a rivet, and bearing some resemblance to the handle of a modern lancet, from which the blade had been detached. Some doubt was expressed whether this last was of the same period as the other relics, and also whether it might be genuine. Mr. Lee Warner had at first considered, that, having claim to be entitled a portion of the original find, it might possibly be viewed as a rude prototype of the surgical instrument. It is, however, doubtless to be regarded as the pendant or tag of a narrow strap, probably a girdle. Such objects not uncommonly accompany the interments of the period; they are mostly of more ornamented fashion, such as the specimen found by Mr. Akerman at Harnham Hill, Salisbury; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 277, pl. xi., and one figured by Mr. C. Roach Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough*, p. 88, pl. viii. That in Mr. Lee Warner's possession is perfectly plain; it measures nearly 2 inches in length; breadth, at the riveted end, three-eighths, the other extremity is rounded. Examples, in great variety, of various periods are given by Dr. Hume in his *Ancient Meols*, antiquities found on the coast of Cheshire, pp. 122, 127, pl. xi.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A ring of silver, once thickly gilt, having an early Gaulish or Armorican coin set in the bezel, which is supported on each side by two rudely formed figures; their lower extremities are intertwined to form the hoop.—A ring, made of a piece of walrus tooth ivory, in form of a female figure stretched on her back round the hoop, and holding in her hands a wreath; her feet rest against a table, that may be called the bezel, and on which are in relief the initials—W. F.—A massive silver ring, having a deep hollow or casement on the bezel, at the bottom of which is seen the Austrian Imperial Eagle, having apparently on its breast the arms of the Empress Maria Theresa, and those of Francis I. of Lorraine. Date, about 1750.—A small upright cup, formed of a calabash or dried gourd shell, mounted in silver. The gourd is four-lobed, and it is not improbable that the fruit was artificially made to grow in its peculiar form.—A two-handled cup or small bowl, formed of half a cocoa nut cut longitudinally, mounted in silver gilt. Around the rim is the inscription—EX . LIBELITATE (*sic*) D. JOHANNIS GEORGI. B. F. CKH. AFFINIS . MEL 1686. It is probably Dutch; there is, however, an Hungarian family of the name of Georgey. The hall mark is a single-headed eagle, like that of Poland. It may therefore be Polish.

May 7, 1869.

The EARL of DUNRAVEN, F.R.S., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P., F.S.A., read a memoir on further explorations of Cyttiau, or circular huts, of which the foundations exist in considerable numbers on his estates in Holyhead Island, especially at Ty Mawr, near the road that leads to the North Stack, and on the west side of the island. This memoir, in continuation of that previously published in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xxiv. p. 229), comprised the results of Mr. Stanley's researches during the previous autumn, and described the remarkable vestiges, as supposed, of early metal-workings, also

certain interments found at Plas, near the village of Cyttiau, and remains of pottery, with stone implements, a few Roman relics, and other objects, which were brought for examination. Ground-plans of several of the buildings were also shown in illustration of these very curious remains. The memoir will be published hereafter.

The EARL of DUNRAVEN gave an account of a magnificent production of Early Irish art, which he submitted to the meeting. We are indebted also to his kindness for the following abstract of his observations. The discovery will be fully recorded and illustrated in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

This precious object is a two-handled cup or chalice, found in a rath or fort at Ardagh, county Limerick, by a man who was occupied in digging potatoes. This unique vessel had suffered some injury through stripping off the gold, but this had been very carefully replaced by a jeweller in Dublin, who was engaged for three weeks on the work, and refused to accept any remuneration. The cup is composed of gold, silver, bronze, brass, copper and lead; the upper rim is of brass, much decayed and split from some local action on that particular alloy of metal; the bowl is of silver, the standard value of which is four shillings per ounce. The ornamentation on this silver bowl consists of an inscription, and an interlaced pattern terminating at the bottom with a circle of a Greek pattern. The style of decoration is very peculiar, being executed with a chisel and hammer as indicated by the lines being raised at each side, which could only be produced by that mode of workmanship. The ring round the bowl is composed of two circles, raised and ornamented with small circles executed in the same manner as the inscription. Between these two circles are spaces for twelve round enamels, one of which has been lost, and spaces for twelve plaques of gold repoussé work, with a beautiful ornamentation of fine filagree wire-work wrought on the front of the repoussé ground, and carrying out in its finest execution the interlaced pattern associated with ancient Irish art.

Professor Sullivan, Lord Dunraven stated, has supplied the following valuable notes on the enamels:—"The enamels of the chalice are of three kinds: round or bead, tubular or arched enamels, the latter being simply the tubular bent to suit the handle, of one color, with a pattern of metal; similar enamels of two colors with a pattern of metal; and the like, without any pattern of metal. The first class is formed of a bead or tubular piece of colored transparent glass, into the upper surface of which was pressed, while in a soft state, a chambered or *cloisonné* pattern cut out of a piece of solid silver. The spherical or flat surface was afterwards polished;—a peculiar kind of *émail cloisonné*—the *cloisons* not being, however, formed by soldering together slips of metal, and soldering the pattern on a plate of metal or ground, but being cut out of a single piece of metal which is then pressed into the softened surface of the enamel, which rises up into and fills the open frame-work of the pattern. The enamels of the second kind were made by taking a piece of silver of the proper size and cutting out the pattern, one part entirely, and the other not quite through, so as to form in the first case an open frame-work, and in the second little hollows or chambers. This pattern was then pressed into the softened surface of a bead, flat tubular piece, or arched piece of translucent blue-colored glass. This glass fills up the open *cloisons*, as in the first kind, above described. The little hollows or

chambers formed by not cutting the metal quite through were then filled by a more fusible opaque enamel, which did not come into contact with the translucent or base enamel. This variety may be considered as a union of the peculiar variety of *émaux cloisonnés*, represented by the class first noticed, and of the *émaux en taille d'épargne*, or *émaux en champlévé*, the base or translucent glass being much less fusible than the second or *champlévé* enamel, which is opaque. The third kind consists of flat, tubular, or arched pieces of translucent glass, colored blue, on the surface of which was engraved, or, as some suppose, impressed in intaglio, a design or pattern which was afterwards filled up with another colored and opaque enamel. This is an interesting variety of the *émaux champlévés*, in which glass is substituted for metal as the base in which the pattern is incised. In this case the translucent glass and opaque enamel are brought into direct contact, and show a considerable amount of skill in producing glasses of different degrees of fusibility. There appear to be no specimens of pseudo-cloisonnés enamels on the chalice, that is, enamels in which the glasses are cemented into the *cloisons*, and not fused into them. They are rather mosaics than enamels. This variety is essentially oriental, and appears not to have been at all practised in Gaul, where undoubtedly true enamels were made anterior to Roman domination, and when they were apparently not used in Rome or Greece. It is generally very difficult to distinguish between true enamels and pseudo-enamels or mosaics, which have been long exposed to the action of damp, &c., as the very fusible enamels are easily decomposed by water containing carbonic acid, leaving, along the points of contact of the metal with the glass, a residuum often so like cement as to deceive the most skilled antiquaries."

The Noble Earl proceeded to give a description of the form and ornaments of the different parts of the chalice. Within the foot of the bowl there is a circular crystal, around which has been a circle of amber divided into tablets, with a bronze division between each. The cup is composed of 356 pieces, including 20 rivets; the weight of the gold is 1 oz. 2 dwt., of the silver, 20 oz. 13 dwt., and of the bronze 9 oz. The designs with which the cup is ornamented belong to the Celtic school of art; besides these designs, there are two pieces of plaited silver wire, bearing a strong resemblance to Trinchinopoli work. The inscriptions, which became visible on cleaning the chalice, consist of the names of the Apostles. The letters resemble those found in very early MSS. of the Gospels, and indicate a period as early possibly as the sixth century: the ornamentation appears referable to the tenth.

Some critical remarks were made in regard to the forms of the letters, comparing them with those in early MSS. and also on sculptured stone crosses, ranging from the sixth to the ninth century.

In concluding these very interesting observations, some remarks were offered by Lord Dunraven, in regard to the use of the cup, and whether it may have been for an ecclesiastical or a secular purpose. He gave certain extracts from authorities, and references to others. It had been considered to be ecclesiastical by those most competent to form a conclusion. It may deserve notice, that the crystal in the foot was shown only when the chalice was laid to drain on the paten. This very remarkable sacred example of the skill of Irish artificers holds exactly three pints. A small cup, of white metal, and also four brooches,

were found within the chalice. They are of silver, but of an inferior alloy.

The Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D., offered some remarks on two admirable specimens of mediæval embroidery, sent for inspection by Miss Maitland. They had been formerly in the possession of her relative, the well-known antiquary and collector of Shrewsbury, the late Rev. W. G. Rowland. Dr. Rock invited attention to one of these, a "Tree of Jesse," as the finest example of English work known to him, with the exception only of the "Syon Cope." It may be ascribed to the fourteenth century: the work is of chain-stitch, richly wrought in gold diaper. It may have been part of the costly vestments belonging to one of the Shropshire monasteries. The second piece is of later date, of the close of the fifteenth, or early part of the sixteenth century, and executed in "feather-stitch." The colors are beautifully preserved; the subjects are figures of apostles or saints in tabernacle work. We hope to be favored by Canon Rock hereafter with a detailed account of these treasured productions of needlework, most kindly entrusted for exhibition by Miss Maitland, through the request of Mrs. Charles Stanley.

Canon Rock then read a Memoir on the date and intention of certain remarkable objects of bronze, in form of spoons, supposed to be of late Celtic work, and of which several examples were exhibited. This memoir will be found in the present volume, p. 35, *ante*.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P.—Implements of stone, fragments of pottery, Roman coins, with numerous ancient relics, found in excavations on the sites of hut-circles or cyttiau, near Ty Mawr, on Mr. Stanley's estates in Holyhead Island, during the autumn of 1868.

By Miss M. CONWAY GRIFFITH.—A diminutive stone cup, supposed to be Early British, found near her residence at Carreglwd, in Anglesey, in the parish of Llanfaethlw, and about a mile from the western shore of the Island. The dimensions are as follows:—diameter, nearly 4 in.; diameter of the bowl, about 2½ in.; height, 1½ in. See woodcuts, p. 288, *ante*. This vessel, the intention of which is uncertain, is nearly hemispherical; the bottom being brought to a round shape with considerable care. In the British Museum there is a similar little cup, of somewhat smaller size, wrought out of a flint: it was found in the Thames, near Battersea. In Mr. Stanley's excavations at the cyttiau, in Holyhead Island, several small cups of stone have been found, that may have been destined for like purposes as that found on Miss Griffith's estates. It is possible that, as has been sometimes imagined, stone vessels of this description were used as lamps. The discovery, at Carreglwyd, about 1860, of a number of cist-burials without cremation, has been recorded in this Journal (vol. xxiv, p. 21). Amongst other ancient vestiges in the neighbourhood, where, according to tradition, many conflicts with the Northmen or other marauders occurred, there is a large erect stone, or *meinhir*, supposed to mark the field of some memorable engagement.

By Mr. J. T. IRVINE, F.S.A. Scot.—A pair of shallow bronze spoons, found at Weston, near Bath, and adjacent to Roman vestiges on the south of the *Via Julia*, leading from *Isca Solis* towards the Severn and South Wales. These spoons are of most skilful workmanship, and enriched with the peculiar ornamentation, in low relief, designated "Late Celtic"

by Mr. Franks, by whom a large series of examples has been figured in the *Horæ Ferales*. See also a memoir in this volume, p. 60, *ante*.

By the Rev. G. F. WESTON, Vicar of Crosby Ravensworth.—A pair of bronze spoons, similar in description to those last noticed, but varying considerably from them in general fashion and ornament. They were found near traces of ancient occupation in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland, and were brought for examination through the kindness of Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, F.S.A. See p. 62, *ante*.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY, F.S.A.—Another remarkable example of the "Late Celtic" relics last described. It was found, in 1852, in Brickhill Lane, London. See p. 55, *ante*.

By the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM.—A small box, formed, as supposed, of walrus or sea-horse bone, of grotesque design, and possibly a rude representation of a sphinx, the fore-legs doubled backwards. The upper end is closed by an oval piece of bone, on which is engraved the name of Jupiter in Greek capitals,—ZEYΣ—with ☉ above, and Δ below the name. The other extremity is closed by another piece of bone hinged as a lid, and kept close by means of a kind of spring. This singular object may have been used for holding money: it was obtained in exchange for ancient coins by Mr. G. Pouncey, a dealer at Dorchester; it is probably antique, although of no very remote period. According to another conjecture it may have been a chess-piece.

By the Earl of DUNRAVEN, F.S.A.—A two-handled chalice, found at Ardagh, as before described; also a silver cup and four brooches, discovered at the same time, deposited in the chalice.

By Mr. R. B. Æ. MACLEOD.—Two very beautiful brooches, obtained early in the present year in Scotland. They were purchased from a small shopkeeper in the village of Alness, Ross-shire, having been sold to him by a travelling "navvy," who stated that he had found them whilst engaged in railway excavations in the north. One of them is of horse-shoe form; the extremities decorated with circular ornaments divided into four compartments, in the centre of which is affixed in each instance a bead of dark crimson glass. Around the circle there are four semi-circles, each of them enriched with a bird's head in relief, raised about half an inch, their beaks recurved inwards, the eyes set with glass paste. The whole of this elaborate work forms a kind of quatrefoil ornament of great beauty. In the centre of the brooch there is another similar quatrefoil with birds' heads of like fashion. This curious specimen of ancient Irish art is of bronze; it is deeply indented in front, ornamented with "Runic tracery," and the whole is richly gilt. The dimensions are 5 in. in length, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth. The pin or *acus* is stated to be of hardened tin; it measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and is covered with the like tracery before mentioned, also strongly gilt. The second brooch is of silver, its breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the same in length, being nearly circular in fashion; the centre and sides are enriched with "Runic tracery," and gilded. The length of the *acus* is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; it is formed, as stated, of hardened tin. This brooch closely resembles one found at Skryne, co. Meath, and exhibited in the museum at the meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh, 1859; it is figured in the catalogue of that collection, p. 54, and is now in Lord Londesborough's collection. The ornaments are of three-petaled fashion, not four as in that exhibited. The brooches brought before the Society by Mr. Macleod are in almost perfect

preservation, and richly decorated: they are ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

By the Council of the UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION.—A remarkable sword found, in 1739, in the bed of the Thames, during the construction of the piers of Westminster Bridge, and presented to the museum of the United Service Institution by Mr. Walter Hawkins. The date of this fine weapon is supposed to be about 1400; the scabbard may have been somewhat later. On the mounts and the *bouterolle*, which appear to be of silver, and are ornamented with much care, is introduced a stag's head cabossed, with the following motto on a scroll: *wilf' i*.—the signification of which has not been identified. Further particulars will be given on a future occasion, with a representation of the sword.

By Mr. J. C. BUCKLEY.—Specimens of mediæval embroidery and church vestments.

JUNE 4, 1869.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. FLAXMAN C. SPURRELL gave a short account of certain shafts and chambered cavities in the chalk, near Dartford, in Kent, and brought for examination numerous diagrams, showing the varied fashion of these highly curious vestiges, locally known as "Dane holes," the precise age and intention of which present a subject of much interest. They resemble the cavities that bear the same popular designation in the neighbourhood of Tilbury, Grays Thurrock, and other places in Essex, near the course of the Thames, to which the attention of the Institute had been called at a previous meeting by Mr. Richard Meeson, F.S.A. See pp. 190—193. Their general fashion has been described and illustrated by woodcuts in Camden's *Britannia*, pp. 236, 318, edit. 1607; and in Gough's edition, vol. ii., p. 119; vol. i., p. 313. There are numerous "Dane holes" near Chislehurst, and in one of these, described by Mr. Latter in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, Roman relics were found. It is probable that the Romans may have made use of certain ancient shafts and cavities in the chalk as *puteoli* or rubbish-pits, as at Ewell and elsewhere. Mr. Spurrell is of opinion that the pits in Kent were dwellings in their original intention, but that they might have been used and altered to meet the requirements of later times.

It is satisfactory to learn that for the more complete investigation of these curious remains in Kent, a grant of 150*l*. was made at the recent meeting of the British Association at Exeter, in aid of the researches that have been carried out with so much spirit by Mr. Spurrell.

Mr. J. GREEN WALLER called attention to the valuable remarks on the subject of these ancient excavations in Kent, given by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 243; and especially to the mention by Pliny of a fine white chalk (*argentaria*) used by silversmiths, and obtained, apparently in Britain, by means of shafts like wells, from which at a great depth cavities branched out, precisely as in the "Dane holes" in Kent.

Mr. J. F. NICHOLLS, of the City Library, Bristol, communicated the following notices of the learned reformer, John Alasco, and of the discovery at Bristol of a brass medallion, or badge, lately found there, representing him. It is here figured. This memorial has suffered, owing to a

nail having been driven through the centre to affix it to a beam ; around the head is the legend—*IOHANNES . ALASCO . ET . LVI . A . DO . 1557*. The reverse of the medallion is rough, and bears no device or inscription. At the upper edge will be seen the remains of a small ring that has been broken off. The object may have been worn appended to a chain or ribbon as a badge or a memorial of regard by one of Alasco's companions in exile. Possibly, indeed, it may have had some connection with the functions conferred on the Reformer, as exercising a certain jurisdiction in the foreign congregations established in England ; it may have served as a token of authority held under him by some official in those churches of Protestant exiles.



Brass medallion, with the head of John Alasco, found at Bristol. Orig. size

“Between Temple street and Thomas street, in the Old City of Bristol, once stood the Hall of the Weavers’ Guild, which has been destroyed in making a new road to the railway station. The remains had no archaeological value. Of the hall, nothing but the thick stone arched floor was left. In the master’s or keeper’s house adjoining, and forming part of the building, was found this medallion nailed up on the oaken beam which crossed and supported the chimney of the large fire-place. It was on the inner side of the beam, so that it could only be seen by those who looked for it, or who sat in the “ingle nook.” When open hearths gave way to closed fire-places, the medallion was built in, and so remained, encrusted with a rich green patina, the effect of more than three centuries, until the spring of the present year, when the house was pulled down. Unfortunately its beauty has been greatly marred by the scouring-brick of the finder’s wife, from whose hands I rescued it. But she had rubbed off not only the oxidation which I saw on it the previous day, but had also sadly dulled the sharpness of the profile and the lettering of the inscription.

“Saxius and others state that Alasco was born in 1499 ; this medallion,

however, makes the date of his birth to be two years later, giving his age as fifty-six in 1557. He died in 1560, at Frankfurt.

"Tucker street connected the above mentioned streets together ; in the angle formed by the three stood the house and the hall, in and around which thickly dwelt the workers in wool. In old deeds, as far back as Edward I., the *Vicus Fullonum*, or Tucker street, is mentioned, and the 'Toukeres,' 'Webbers,' and 'Felteres,'—Cloth-workers, Clothiers, and Woollen Cap-makers, resided in it. The 'Textors,' or Weavers, lived in Temple and Thomas streets. In the reign of Edward III., intercourse was kept up by the city with Genoa, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. His queen, Philippa of Hainault, induced many foreigners to settle here, because the English could only make coarse friezes, and were not skilled in making fine cloth. In and after 1546, Alva drove the best workmen of Saxony thence, and many of them found refuge in Somersetshire and Bristol. Alasco was uncle to the King of Poland, pupil and friend of Erasmus, a correspondent of at least two queens—Margaret of Navarre, and Elizabeth of England—nephew to the Archbishop of Gnesna, the friend of Melancthon and Luther, the disciple and convert of Zuinglius ; he was made provost of Gnesna and Leuciez, and nominated Bishop of Veszprim in Hungary. These preferments he gave up when he became a Protestant. Erasmus describes him as full of amiable qualities, and adds that he was of noble extraction, held high posts of honour, had great expectations, a wonderful genius, uncommon erudition, and all without any pride. After the death of Erasmus, Alasco offered a hundred pieces of gold to assist in publishing his works. Eleven years previously he had bought the library of the great Rotterdam scholar for three hundred crowns of gold, giving him the free use of it for his life. In 1548, Alasco was invited by Cranmer to come to England. He had become a pastor, and his people being in jeopardy of their lives, Somerset, the Protector, gave them leave to settle in England. Alasco urged this on the ground of policy as well as of charity, as he said that they would bring many useful manufactures to the country ; he requested that they might be incorporated by letters patent, and some dissolved monastery be given to them as a place of worship. Three hundred and eighty of these refugees were thus incorporated, and the Priory of the Augustine Friars, London, was in July, 1549, granted to them. Alasco, who in this patent is called a person of singular probity and learning, was made superintendent of all the foreign churches in this country. We find him exercising jurisdiction as far as the Channel Islands. He took part in the discussions of the day, and sided with Bishop Hooper on the vestment question. In his office as Superintendent of the Foreign Churches, he would necessarily be brought into contact with his co-patriots, settled by the Protector at Glastonbury ; Bristol was their market, and many became domiciled there. Under Mary, Alasco and his people had to leave England. They were refused admission into Denmark because they differed from Lutheran views on the Eucharist : so were they in Lubeck, and other German cities. After great hardships at sea, they settled at Embden in 1554 ; where, early in 1557 (the date of the medallion), Alasco published an Apology, in which he defended the views that he held. Bristol was, and still is, famous for its brass-works ; and probably in this city the medallion was struck by his admirers. It may have been worn by one of the weavers of Temple street, who this year

sealed their faith in the fires of martyrdom on St. Michael's Hill, overlooking the city. May it have been poor Sharp, who, on March 9th, was persuaded by the arguments (fire and faggots) of Dalby the Chancellor, to recant, but who, repenting his apostasy, confessed his faith anew and was burned with Thomas Hale on 17th May, or Thomas Benion (Shearman), who suffered on 13th August,—that nailed up the memorial where it was lately found? After Mary's death, in a sermon at the High Cross, the preacher reproached some 'for that they did go to Redland for green wood (to burn the martyrs slowly) when they might have had dry close at hand.'

"One thing seems certain, that Alasco shared largely in the religious controversies of the day, and in that seething sea of theological opinions he did good service to the Protestant cause, both here and on the Continent."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor DONALDSON.—An Assyrian Cylinder, recently purchased by him at Beyrout, in Syria. It is of opaque chalcedony, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in diameter, and is perforated in its whole length by a small hole. On the surface, it is exquisitely cut, with a group of figures; the centre one being a barbarian deity in Assyrian costume, having four wings, and flanked by two winged griffons rampant. His outstretched hands, on either side, hold one of the paws of each griffon. The best of this class of cylinders, executed in the highest style of art, are from Persepolis. They have hitherto been considered as seals; but in the British Museum collection are found two or three, the hole in the axis filled with a piece of thick copper wire projecting at the end and forming a kind of loop, this induces the belief that they may have been used as amulets, suspended from a necklace or collar. In effect it seems hardly consistent that a sacred subject, as a deity, should have served as a seal for ordinary purposes; besides which, an impression is very difficult to take. Such cylinders are frequently covered more or less with the cuneiform character mixed with the figures, but others have no written character, as is the case with the present specimen. They are composed of chalcedony, quartz, hæmatite, rock crystal, serpentine, and other hard stones. Larger cylinders in stone and terra cotta were sometimes used to stamp certain objects, instances of which may be seen in the Assyrian collection of the British Museum, where there is a considerable quantity and variety of cylinders. But the Imperial Library at Paris is particularly rich both as to number of specimens and their execution. None, however, whether at Paris or in London, excel this cylinder, whether in design or cutting, as a work of Assyrian art equal to the purest examples of Greek taste.—Two heads of small figures in terra cotta, from Larnaka, the place where vessels touch at the Isle of Cyprus, and given to Professor Donaldson by the American and British Consuls there. The arrangement of the heads, which are female, and the expression of the features are very fine, and give a favorable idea of the style of art in the favorite isle of Venus, and where her Paphian shrine existed. The heads are surmounted by graceful arrangements of the hair, and elaborate ornaments. The American Consul has a fine collection for sale of specimens of glass, terra cotta, gold, and other metallic objects; as also some marble and stone statues, and fragments,—these latter, however, are not of a very high class of art.—A Hebrew roll of leather, with the original

handle, and containing the Book of Esther, in fine square characters, with the points. It was purchased by Professor Donaldson in November last, at Jerusalem, and is one of the class usually found in the tombs of the Jews. The MS. may be considered about 300 years old. It measures 13 ft. 6 in. in length, by 9 in. wide, and is rolled on the original stick or handle. It consists of six skins, with twenty columns of writing, each column 6 in. wide, and from 7 in. to 8 in. high, and containing ten lines. The membranes vary in length from 2 ft. 5 in. to 3 ft., with three or four columns on each. The seventeenth column or division consists of only two vertical lines in large letters, apparently the proper names of the sons of Haman, as given in the ninth chapter of our version. As such MSS. are continually found, there are many on sale,—some much smaller, and on parchment, and others larger than the one exhibited. It is stated that the Jews allow the Book of Esther only to be written in detached form, apart from the other Books, and to be placed in tombs, as it does not contain the Sacred Name of “the Most High.”

By the Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P., F.S.A.—A massive implement of stone, much weather worn, perforated to receive a haft: it was lately found in Holyhead Island, in ploughing near the cyttiau at Ty Mawr, of which notices had been communicated to the Institute by Mr. Stanley. Also a drawing of an ancient vessel, possibly of Roman ware, of which the fragments had lately there been dug up; an Irish coin or token, found at the ancient chapel known as Capel y Llochwyd, near the top of Holyhead mountain, and two tobacco-pipe bowls of remarkable fashion and superior manufacture. They are, however, of recent date, and bear the name of the skilful maker, Fiolet, at St. Omer. They were turned up by the plough not far from the village of hut-circles, and may claim notice as an instance of the perplexing admixture of objects of very different periods on sites of ancient and long continued occupation.

By Mrs. ALEXANDER KERR.—Eleven photographs of the ancient Roman vases and other objects of silver, of most elaborate and beautiful workmanship, found at Hildesheim.

By Mr. JOHN STUART, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.—Two photographs representing a statuette of the Virgin, with the infant Saviour, carved in walrus tusk, in possession of Sir Noel Paton. It was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. W. B. Johnstone, Treasurer of the Royal Scottish Academy, and had been found, as stated, at Iona. The figure measures 5½ in. in height, including a small base and a square block, by which it was apparently affixed to a pedestal, or a shrine. The infant is seated on the right arm of the Virgin, who holds towards him some object, possibly a dove. There appears to be a crown upon her head. The sculpture, although presenting some appearance of greater antiquity, may probably be ascribed to the fifteenth century. It is stated that it had been preserved for many years by a family in the Hebrides.—A leaden cloth-mark, here figured; it was found in a refuse heap or midden close to the castle of Craig of Boyne, a ruin probably of the sixteenth century, on the rocky coast of Banffshire. This midden is a thin layer of fat black unctuous earth full of bones and sea-shells, with the surface covered by earth. Many of the bones were those of deer, the small bones were in many instances split and partially sharpened. This leaden relic measures about an inch in diameter: it consists of two disks united by a loop, like a hinge, the whole, however, formed

in one piece, and the disks may be turned back so as to admit of the insertion between them of some thin object, for instance the edge of a piece of cloth or other tissue, to which the leaden object might be attached; it appears to have been fastened by two tags, of which the broken ends appear on one face of the article. The mode of attachment is not very obvious, but such was doubtless the intention. On one of the faces is seen a fleur-de-lys, with certain letters in relief on each of its sides; their signification is very doubtful, possibly they may be deciphered as—*lille*—and may here denote the city of Lille, long noted for its manufactures. On the other face, or reverse of the object, is seen in minuscule letters, in bold relief, *corte* or *forte* (*sorte*); the field is



Leaden Cloth-Mark, found in Scotland. Orig. size.

diapered with slight foliated branching ornament. The general design seems to be in the style of the fifteenth century. It may be a question whether this object was cast in a mould, or formed by stamping, in like manner as the *plomb* or *bolla*, that are commonly affixed at the present time to various articles of merchandise at the custom houses in foreign countries. Modern ingenuity has, however, contrived an implement, like a pair of plyers or a bullet mould, that terminate in two stamps, bearing some distinctive device or inscription. A piece of soft metal, through which the cord for attachment passes, is so effectually squeezed between these intagli as to form a disk, called technically a *plomb*, that can only be separated from the article of merchandise by cutting the string. There can be little doubt that the little leaden relic sent by Mr. Stuart is a mediæval French or Flemish cloth-mark. The inscriptions that it bears may have served, as had been supposed, to indicate the quality of the article, or the name of the manufacturer.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A quaint toothpick-case, in form of a piece of tallow candle.—An ivory tobacco-stopper, containing a diamond-pointed pencil for writing on glass windows; a practice common in the last century.—Ornament made for the celebration of the jubilee of King George III.'s reign of fifty years, 26 Oct., 1809. It was intended to be worn by ladies at balls and fêtes then given. They were called "bandeaux."

By the Earl AMHERST.—A pair of steel tongs for holding a heated coal, or piece of charred wood, to light a pipe. At the side there is a tobacco-stopper; date, about 1700.

By Mr. H. G. BOHN.—A devotional folding picture, or diptych, ascribed to Giovanni da Fiesole, called Fra Angelico, a painter of the Tuscan schools, who flourished about 1430. He died in 1455. See Sir

Charles Eastlake's edition of Kugler's *Handbook of the Italian Schools*, vol. i., p. 163.—Also an illuminated initial letter, attributed to the same master, an O, from a choral service book.

MEDIÆVAL SEALS.—By Sir THOMAS E. WINNINGTON, Bart.—Grant of the parsonage of Clifton-on-Teme, co. Worcester, to the rector, dated 19 Henry VIII., 1527. The seal of the nunnery of Lymbrook, Herefordshire, is appended; no other impression is known; that exhibited is on red wax, in damaged condition, the device can scarcely be discerned. It was apparently the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The document has recently been found amongst the muniments at Stanford Court; the impropriation, now in possession of Sir Thomas Winnington, belonged to the above-mentioned religious house.

Archæological Intelligence.

We have to announce the completion of the volume of *Transactions of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology*, held at Norwich and in London, August, 1868, and containing numerous valuable memoirs read at the Congress, with an abstract of the discussions. It forms one volume, med. 8vo, with 53 plates, comprising numerous illustrations of great interest. London, Longmans and Co. Price (to non-subscribers) 21s. The *Transactions of the recent Congress at Copenhagen*, under the presidency of the eminent archæologist, Worsaae, are in preparation, and will form a very desirable addition to the series of *Prehistoric Year-Books*.

Mr. W. Molyneux, F. G. S., formerly brought under the notice of the Institute the vestiges of a royal hunting-lodge, as supposed, in Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, a relic of the Norman period of which no record has been found. A complete account of his exploration of the site is in forward preparation for this Journal. Mr. Molyneux has lately published his promised *History of Burton-on-Trent*, with notices of remains, British, Roman and Mediæval, annals of the great monastery also, and of the Abbots of Burton, and many matters of value to the archæologist not less than to those interested in the topographical details and geology of the district. The publishers are Trübner and Co., Paternoster Row.

The Rev. H. LONGUEVILLE JONES, for many years well known to us as a talented writer on Historical and Antiquarian subjects, proposes to combine, in one volume 8vo, a selection of memoirs contributed by him to various serial publications. Subscribers' names should be sent to Mr. Russell Smith: the price will be half-a-guinea. We cordially commend this purpose of one of the earliest of our friends and contributors to this journal. Mr. Longueville Jones ranks foremost amongst those whose keen interest in national antiquities has diffused so largely an intelligent taste for their preservation and for the science of archæology. He has special claims on our esteem as the founder of the Cambrian Archæological Association, in 1845. Under his care their valuable publications, extending to nearly twenty-five volumes, have been conducted. A detailed prospectus will ere long be issued. Amongst the scattered memoirs selected for the proposed volume will be found subjects of much interest to the general reader.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1869.

ANCIENT CIRCULAR HABITATIONS, CALLED CYTTIAU'R GWYDDELOD, AT TY MAWR IN HOLYHEAD ISLAND; WITH NOTICES OF OTHER EARLY REMAINS THERE.

By the Hon. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, M.P., F.S.A.

THE former account of excavations made by Mr. Albert Way and myself in 1862, published in the *Archæological Journal*, and again in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,¹ having created considerable interest, in 1868, with the assistance of Colonel Augustus Lane Fox, I directed several of the circular foundations at Ty Mawr to be cleared out.

The first that we excavated was a hut-circle at the east end of the ancient village, situated under a cliff of rock about 20 ft. high, sheltering it from the north. (See ground-plan, No. I.)

The external face of wall was built as usual of large unhewn stones set on end, and sunk about 2 ft. in the ground; the interior of the walls, about 3 ft. thick, was made of loose stones and earth, or sods, occasionally lined with small flat stones set in rude courses, with large upright stones at intervals to prevent the walls crushing inwards; and here and there a long flat stone placed at right angles with the wall, projecting into the hut. Mr. Ormerod informs me that this same form of construction is found in the circular huts on Dartmoor; it occurs also in the ancient buildings on the Cheviots, at Greaves Ash near Linhope, Northumberland.²

¹ Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. p. 229; Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiv. p. 385.

² See a memoir by Mr. George Tate, F.G.S., Transactions of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. iv. p. 293; also an abstract, with a ground plan, &c., and

some observations by Professor Babington, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. viii. p. 201. The investigation of that very curious Celtic town was carried out in 1861 by the Club, through the liberality of the late Duke of Northumberland.

The entrance was facing the south-east, with two large upright stones for door-posts. Attached to the hut, on the south, was a somewhat irregular semicircular chamber, adjoining the entrance. The diameter of the circle was about 25 ft.; and that of the semicircular appendage, 6 ft. On the north side of the large hut was a fire-place level with the floor; the sides were made of flat stones placed upright; above was a well-defined chimney formed in the thickness of the wall, sloping back, and with a large flat slab of stone in the slope. In front of this fireplace, a little to the left and



Fig. 1. Interior view of a circular hut at Ty Mawr, Holyhead Island. Compare the ground-plan, No. 1.

facing the entrance, was a stone mortar or basin, the cavity of which measured 11 in. in diameter and 6 in. deep, sunk to a level with the floor of the hut; this basin was hollowed out of a rough piece of hard trap or basalt, and well polished inside; it was tightly wedged into its bed, as appeared on removing it, with pieces of stone, evidently to resist pressure and to keep it firmly fixed when it was in use for the purpose of pounding, or the like. On either side of this basin, within a few inches, there was a large stone of the same material; one of these stones with a rounded surface, which, from the notched appearance, had apparently been used for breaking stones upon it; the other, about 2 ft. long and 15 in. wide, also sunk to the level of the floor, was slightly worn away or hollowed from having been used for grinding some hard material upon it.

In the centre of the hut there was another fire-place, made of flat stones set edgeways in the ground; it was of wedge shape, about 2 ft. long and 18 in. wide in front, tapering to a point at the back; it had been lined with clay burnt to the

consistency of brick ; in the fire-place were particles of metallic slag and fine sand, like that used for moulding ; scattered about was a quantity of broken pieces of quartz, with slight indications of copper ore in most of them. The upper half of the hut floor had been flagged with large unhewn slabs of the schist rock, and it was raised about 5 in., even with the top of the fire-place, which was sunk in the floor. We found great quantities of pebbles, which bore marks of having been used for pounding, grinding, and polishing, the ends being broken, or the sides rubbed by friction. There were also here several stones suited for similar purposes, probably not shaped artificially, but selected on account of their natural forms being well adapted to form rude implements. (See figs. 7, 8, 9.) A few stone hammers were also found, of more regular fashion, grooved or notched in the centre. (See figs. 10, 11.) It is probable that all these hammers were hafted, like a blacksmith's chisel of the present day, with a hazel band twisted round the groove, and strongly lashed with fresh sinew, or some other ligature. The same form of implement is found in Spain, Africa, North America, and all over Europe,³ in old copper and iron mines worked either previous to or by the Romans. Here also was brought to light a singular stone, that bears some resemblance to a weight. (See fig. 12.)

Some of the whetstones or rubbers had a greenish hue, as if bronze implements had been sharpened upon them. A

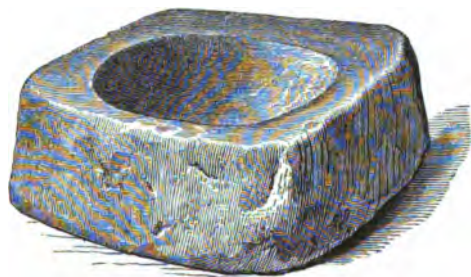


Fig. 2.—Stone cup.

small stone cup or crucible (see woodcuts, fig. 13) was found here ; it may have been used as a lamp, somewhat similar hollowed stones being used to this day for that purpose in

³ International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, No. V., Lisbon, 1868. *Notícia de Algunes martellos de pedra*

descobertos em trabalhos Antigos da mina de cobre de Ruy Gomes, no Alemtejo.

the Hebrides, as stated by Dr. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. A stone cup of the same description, found at Carreglwyd, Anglesey, on the estates of Miss Conway Griffith, was recently exhibited by her at a meeting of the Institute, and has been figured in this Journal.⁴ We



Fig. 3.—Stone ring or brooch (orig. size).



Fig. 4.—Stone whorl or button (orig. size).

found also a white stone spindle-whorl, as such objects are called, but more probably they were used as brooches or buttons, to fasten the clothing made of skins of animals. Tacitus says of the Germans,—“The clothing common to all is the *sagum*, fastened with a clasp, or, in want of that, a thorn; with no other covering they pass whole days on the hearth before the fire.” There is a notch or slight groove on each side, which might have served to catch the pin or *acus* when passed through the brooch. (See fig. 3.) Silver rings are now used in Sweden and Finland to fasten the dress, which is passed through, and a separate pin run through it. About fourteen of the buttons or “whorls,” of various sizes and materials, were found in the huts. See a curious ornamented specimen, fig. 4.

With slight variations, all the seven or eight huts that I excavated presented the same general appearance—the fire-place to the north, and, in the centre, the chimney, the stone mortar or basin, and the grinding and pounding stone on either side; in some of the huts there are two or three small fireplaces round the centre. (See ground-plans, Nos. 2, 3.) In all these huts there were the same appearances of slag, sand, and burnt clay, also coarse pieces of pottery, and stone hammers, with a great many rounded stones, some

⁴ See p. 232, *ante*.

of them being doubtless natural pebbles from the sea-shore, but others had apparently been rounded by friction ; some of these may probably have been sling stones. They are either oval or round, and measure from half an inch to about three inches in length. (See fig. 5.) It is to be remarked

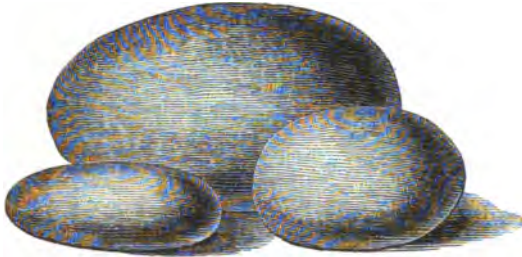


Fig. 5.—Sling-stone ; half original size.

that the people of Anglesey to this day are most skilful in throwing stones. The use of the sling was retained in mediæval warfare to a comparatively recent period ; even as late as the time of the Black Prince, the Spanish army in the year 1367 had the front rank of slingers, in the wars between Pedro and Henry of Navarre.⁵

In a large hut (ground-plan, No. 6) at the west end of the village the fire-place, stone mortar, &c., were to the south. The indications of smelting were here much greater ; we found quantities of charcoal, thick masses of iron slag or, as Sir Richard Griffith is inclined to think, portions of the metallic lode, mixed with the stone and floor of the hut, and hard to detach even with the pickaxe. About a dozen coins of about the size of a penny piece were here found, much corroded and seemingly much damaged by exposure to strong fire. These, which appeared unquestionably to be second brass Roman coins, were carefully examined by Mr. Roach Smith, who is of opinion that they may be ascribed to the period between Marcus Aurelius and Severus, or about the latter half of the second century ; he remarks, however, that they may have been long in circulation. In this hut we brought to light many broken pieces of rude pottery, nearly half an inch thick, ill burnt, and the clay as usual mixed with small stones and quartz ; here also many shells of limpets and periwinkles were found. Adjoin-

⁵ Life of Edward III.

ing this hut there was an oblong chamber, about 12 ft. long, containing a fireplace and a stone basin, or mortar, raised on a foundation of rough stones; in this mortar lay the broken moiety of a spherical stone exactly fitting it, and underneath was a small quantity of broken quartz and finely-ground gravel. In this hut we found several small, flat, well-polished



Fig. 6.—Original size.

black stones, like counters; they are slightly convex, and measure about half an inch in diameter, by five-eighths. (See woodcuts, fig. 6.) May they not have been used for some game?

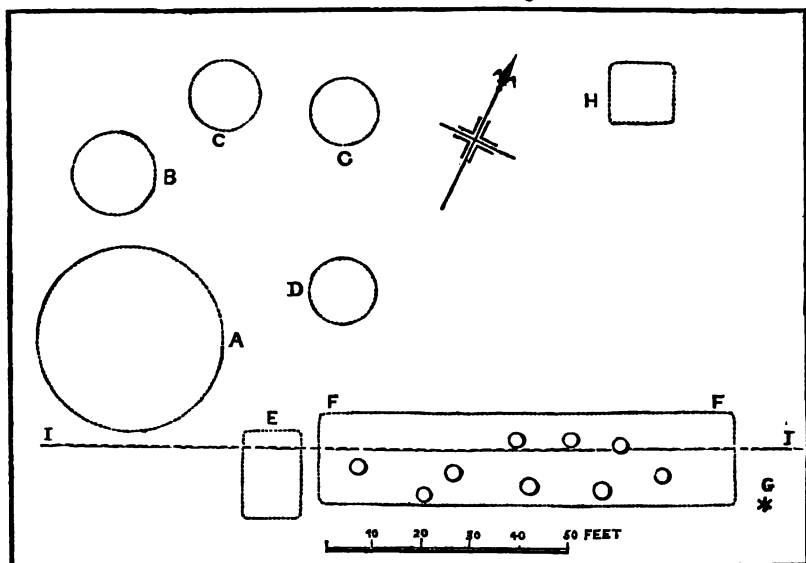
A few yards south of this hut we excavated an oblong building, 15 ft. long by 5 ft. in width, constructed of rough stones in regular courses; it measured about 4 ft. in depth, the entrance to it was from the north, sloping from the level of the ground to the bottom; in the floor were channels in the form of a cross; they were about 5 in. wide, made of flat stones set edgeways in the ground, a flat stone being placed at the bottom, as if these channels had been made for running ore. (See ground-plan, No. 9.) Here also were numerous fragments of coarse pottery, which must have formed an utensil of large size; here was found, mixed with slag, the curiously-shaped object which Professor Ramsay thought might have been the nozzle of a bellows. The Hottentots, to this day, use rude bellows of skins in smelting iron ore, as related by Mr. Burchell in his *Travels in South Africa*. In various parts of the ancient village there are oblong pits of the like description abounding with shells, but without any appearance of channels in the floor.

At Pen y Bonc, about half a mile to the south, in the lower ground, where the necklace of jet formerly described was found in a rock grave, the tenant, in removing an old fence, came upon a row of holes lined with stone, and with one slab at the bottom.⁶ The cavities were of circular form,

⁶ A meinhir was removed by John Jones, the tenant of Pen y Bonc. It stood about 60 ft. S.E. of the western extremity of the burial ground, and

measured nearly 5 ft. in height. John Jones remembers several similar stones about the burial ground.

about 2 ft. deep, and the same in diameter at the top, but narrower at the bottom ; in these lay charcoal made from brushwood. The cavities appeared to have contained urns



Plan of Cytiau and other remains at Pen y Bone.

A. Hut-circle, diam. 40 ft. B. A quantity of shells found here. C, D. Hut-circles, diam. 15 ft. E. Charcoal in abundance found here, and an oblong stone-mould (fig. 16). F, F. Supposed extent of a burial ground, with cists containing broken pottery. G. About 160 yards E.N.E. from this point the necklace of jet was found in 1828. H. A rectangular site found about 45 yards to E.N.E. of this spot, oblong stones in courses. I, I. Line of the present fence.

and ashes ; broken pieces of pottery being found, also one oblong, and several round, well-polished pebbles from the shore. These graves had apparently been opened and destroyed, and then filled with soil ; in ploughing close to them the plough-share turned up a small urn of black pottery ; it was broken to pieces, but when whole must have measured 2 in. in diameter at the bottom, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the top, and 3 in. in height. It is considered by Mr. Franks to be of coarse Romano-British ware. In removing the fence the soil had all been placed in a heap, but I obtained portions of three kinds of pottery, a few small fragments of a polished black ware, which Mr. Franks pronounces to be of a kind rare in England, and of foreign make, also one or two pieces of ornamented red Samian, a ware also imported from foreign parts, and larger fragments of an imitative red Samian, probably of English make, with marks of the lathe.

Near the square foundations called "Ty Adda" and "Ty Efa" (Adam's and Eve's houses), described in the previous memoir,⁷ are the remains of many circular huts, but the foundations⁸ are nearly obliterated by cultivation. One large circular space, about 40 ft. in diameter, shown in the ground-plan (A), the tenant remembers to have been surrounded by a rude wall nearly 4 ft. high. This space contained charcoal, and near it a small oblong space (E), in which the stone trough or mould described hereafter was found. This was quite full of charcoal. The oblong space (F F) to the east was full of the sepulchral cavities before mentioned, with many upright stones, about 4 ft. in height, placed like those at Plâs. Might not the small oblong space with charcoal have been used for burning the bodies before interment of the ashes in urns? Stone hammers, smoothing or polishing stones, and pounders, all similar to those found at Ty Mawr, were found here.

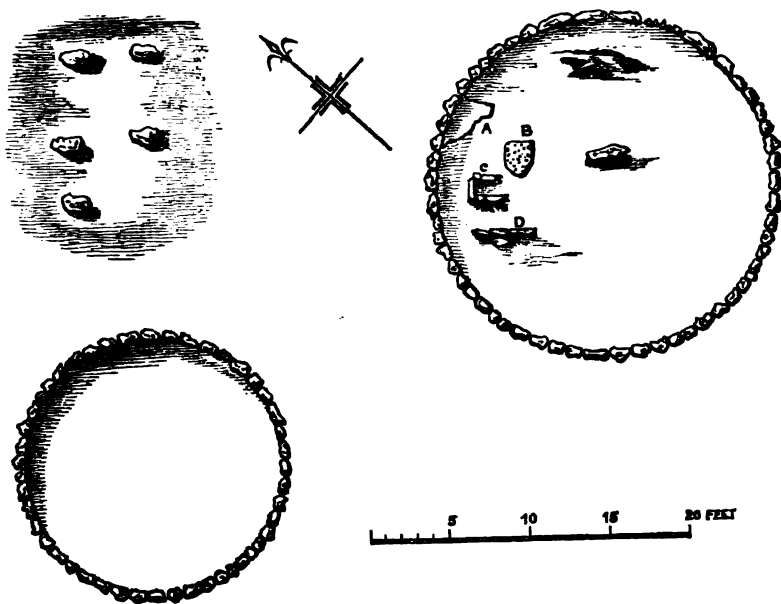
The peculiarly shaped oblong trough or mould (see woodcuts, fig. 16) is made of trap rock, and measures about 18 in. in length, 10 in. in breadth, and the cavity, which is rounded at the ends and side, also well polished, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in depth. At one end externally there is a round hollow, about the size of half an orange, which was highly polished when first found; for what purpose this cavity may have been intended I cannot determine. A similar object with an oval cavity at the side, an inch in depth, was found in subsequent excavations; it is of the same material as that above described, and the dimensions are nearly identical. It is remarkable that three cakes of copper found recently at Llechylched are of somewhat the same form; it might be imagined that the metal had been run in this trough as a mould. The remarkable oval hammer of trap rock (fig. 17), and also one of the hammers grooved around the centre (fig. 11), were found here, with a quantity of stone pounders of all sizes.

In the former memoir on the Hut circles⁹ a plan was given of the huts at Plâs Milo, as the name appears in the Ordnance map of which a copy was appended, but, as it ought rather to be called, Plâs Penrhos feilw, or the extreme point of the *Penrhos*, a name given to the whole district, from my resi-

⁷ Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv. p. 258; 424.
Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiv. p.

⁸ Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv. p. 238.

dence on the east of Holyhead Island, to the extreme western point at Penrhos feilio. From the excavation of one of the most perfect of the circular foundations, it appears that precisely the same arrangement presents itself as at Ty Mawr,—the small fire-place at the side, the pounding stone set in the floor of the hut, the flagged portion at the side, with the appearance of having been made for the purpose of dressing ore, and generally found in the Ty Mawr huts, the place also where a stone basin might have formerly been placed, as in other instances, but possibly removed, the earth being evidently not firm at that spot, and somewhat hollow. These stone basins had been frequently found here. The pounding stones of large size, the remains of “saddle-querns,” with



Plan of remains explored at Plâs, near Holyhead, on the estates of the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P.
A. Stone bench. B. Grinding-stone. C. Fire-place. D. Pavement of rudely-worked flagstones.

the rubbing stones of grit, whorls also, or buttons, hammers, and smoothing or polishing stones occurred in abundance. All these seemed to denote that the same process, whatever it was, had been carried on at Plâs and Ty Mawr, as well as at Pen y Bonc. The copper vein runs near. The five erect stones, that now are about three feet above the real surface of the ground, are singular; they stand like gravestones in a churchyard, and appear to have been worked like small

round pillars. Similar upright standing stones were lately seen at Pen y Bonc, in the oblong space where the urns were discovered, as shown in the ground-plan. No pottery was found here. The whole district of Plâs is interesting, and must have been a place of importance in Celtic times. There are moreover still to be seen two large meinhirs of schist rock, measuring 11 ft. in height above the ground, and 10 ft. apart, which, as old tradition affirms, were surrounded by a circle of large stones, standing 4 or 5 ft. above the surface; many of these were removed by the tenants to build the outhouses, fences, and to form gate-posts. Almost all these stones are of trap rock, unhewn, each stone weighing four or five tons. There is one still standing in the field to the east of the two meinhirs above mentioned.

Before I close my remarks upon the very interesting discoveries made by the excavations of the circular huts at Ty Mawr, Plâs, and Pen y Bonc, I would again call attention to the peculiar and uniform arrangements that have been found;—the fire-places so disposed and formed as to suggest the supposition that they may have been for the purposes of heating and working metal rather than for cooking, the slag and the clay-lined fire-places, as I have supposed them to have been, the stone mortars, the pounding and grinding stones also strongly embedded in the floor of the huts, the broken quartz from the copper lode, and the close proximity of both copper and iron ore.

In the Geological Survey of Great Britain by Professor Ramsay, in sheet 78, presenting sections of strata of Anglesey and Holyhead, I find the statement that “the fault is also a lode containing brown iron ore in quartz.” A vein of copper ore similar to that of the Parys Mountain runs north and south, below the huts, to the west, cropping out at the sea.

The following is the report sent to me by the kindness of the Professor from the School of Mines in Jermyn Street, after examination of various specimens that I sent to him from the huts recently excavated:—

“1. Oxide of iron cementing fragments of the rocks of the country; it may possibly be a very ferruginous slag, the iron of which has subsequently oxidised, but it may be possibly in the state in which it was extracted from the lode; it is slightly magnetic, and this gives reason to believe that it may have been a piece of metallic iron that was



Meini hiron (long stones) of schist rock, at Pilsa, Holyhead Island. (Height 11 feet : they stand 10 feet apart.)
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., on whose property these ancient monuments are preserved.

smelted, and by subsequent oxidation the stones became cemented on its surface.

"Close to the huts a fault runs across the country to the north east, which may be a lode; it should be examined where it comes out on the shore.⁹

"2. Broken quartz, as if from a lode.

"3. Oxide of iron, probably a piece of manufactured iron since completely oxidised; it is very magnetic, and this helps us to confirm that opinion.

"4. Stalactite, oxide of iron, or 'limonite.'

"5. Fragments of oxide of iron.

"6. Ferruginous clay or ochre.

"7. Carbonate of copper.

"8. Floor of a hut, fragments of artificially broken stones, probably stamped in clay.

"9. A small parcel containing a piece of colored glass, cut on one side, also a long rectangular specimen which, under the microscope, seems to be basalt chipped artificially on one side, and rubbed down on the two long narrow sides; also a square piece of the same basalt, chipped artificially on the concave side.

"Two pieces of clay also deserve notice, that are vitrified by heat inside and outside. One of these appears as if it might be part of the nozzle of a bellows, used perhaps for smelting purposes." (See p. 306, *supra*.)

The Britons, in rude primitive times, before the conquest by the Romans, used, as it is believed, a very simple process in smelting minerals. They placed the ore in a hollow in the ground, mingled and heaped up with wood or charcoal, which being fired was found sufficient to fuse the lead or other metal out of the soft and kindly ores of Britain. A small channel, as it is supposed, communicated with a second cavity, into which the fused metal ran from the furnace thus simply contrived.¹

I cannot refrain here from inviting attention to what appears to me much to the purpose of the subject under consideration. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his very interesting notices of Ancient Mining, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the

⁹ This has subsequently been done, and the lode or vein is there found, with appearances seeming to indicate that it had been worked in very ancient times.

¹ See Pennant's Notices of Ancient

Mining in Britain; Tour in Wales, vol. i. p. 50-66. Pennant states that the Romans knew only the weak power of the foot blast; *ibid*. p. 64.

Bible,² cites an account of an Egyptian mining colony in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the Wady Magharah, at a very early period. In this district is to be seen a ruined fortress, supposed to be for the defence of the miners; hammers of green porphyry also have been found, and reservoirs so disposed that when one was full the surplus flowed into the others, so that they must have held an ample supply for years. The ancient furnaces are also to be noticed. There were at Surâbit-el-Khâdim, remains of dwellings, 140 in number, about 10 ft. square, and, at a short distance, ruins of a much greater number. Sir Gardner Wilkinson also, in his valuable work on the Ancient Egyptians,³ gives an account of the gold mines found by MM. Linant and Bonomi, and quotes the following particulars communicated by the latter:—

“Ruins of miners’ huts still remain, as at Surâbit-el-Khâdim. In those nearest the mines lived the workmen who were employed to break the quartz into small fragments, the size of a bean, from whose hands the pounded stone passed to the persons who ground it in hand-mills, similar to those now used for corn in the valley of the Nile, made of granitic stone, one of which is to be found in almost every house at these mines, either entire or broken. The quartz thus reduced to powder was washed on inclined tables, furnished with two cisterns, all built of fragments of stone collected there; and near these inclined planes are generally found little white mounds, the residue of the operation.”

According to the account of mining operations by Diodorus Siculus, the ore was pounded in stone mortars with iron pestles till it was reduced to the size of a lentil; the women and old men then ground it to a fine powder in the mills. The superintendent then spread the powder on a broad, slightly inclined table, and rubbed it gently with the hand, pouring water upon it from time to time to carry away the earthy particles.⁴ Have we not found in every hut recently explored at Ty Mawr similar contrivances suited for pounding, grinding, and washing the ore? For what else could these appliances have been used, surely not for preparing food?

² Vol. ii. p. 368. The descriptions of the extensive ancient mining establishments was taken from a most interesting letter in the *Athenæum*, June 4, 1859, from Surâbit-el-Khâdim, in the Desert

of Sinai.

³ *Anc. Egypt.*, vol. iii. p. 229.

⁴ Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, *ut supra*.

The hut excavated in 1862 and described in my former memoir presented a different arrangement, and was adapted for cooking; the saddle-querns then found were of coarse grit, such a material as is now used for grinding and rubbing corn, whilst, in the huts lately examined, the grinding and pounding-stones are all of hard trap. This grit-stone, I may here observe, must have been brought from the centre of Anglesey; there is none found near Holyhead. The grinding-stones are exactly similar to those found in Egypt and Africa, that may be seen in the Christy Collection. All these circumstances taken together convince me that we have here the evidence of a mining or metal-working population.

The bronze weapons of Irish type found in 1832, and the rude stone implements that have been discovered, might denote a native population.

The Roman coins of comparatively early date, the Roman pottery and urn burial, and remains of Roman querns or hand-mills at Pen y Bonc, quite different from the ruder Celtic form found in the huts above at Ty Mawr, give distinct evidence of Roman occupation; but all these facts are easily reconciled, and would all point to about the end of the second century as the time when the mining works were carried on. The Romans conquered and inhabited Anglesey about A.D. 78, when Agricola invaded the island; the first expedition of Suetonius, some years before, not having led to any permanent occupation, he was obliged to withdraw his forces, and to join the Roman army near St. Albans, to resist the Queen Boadicea. The Romans in 423, A.D., under Valentinian, finally left Britain.

The Irish occasionally occupied Holyhead and portions of Anglesey previous to, and after the time of, the Romans.

We may here consider with propriety what could have been the inducement for the Romans to invade and garrison Anglesey with, as Roman writers would lead us to suppose, a scanty and barbarous people, poor, and possessing nothing to offer to the cupidity of the conqueror. Was it for their own security, and that of their new settlements at Segontium, Conovium, and other points in North Wales? Was it to break down the power of the Druids or Priests of the British nation, who had fled before them, or was it for gain and to secure the mineral wealth of Mona?

In Whitaker's Manchester and in Carte's History, we find

that it is most erroneous to suppose that the Britons had no intercourse with other nations previous to the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar, or that the people were wholly ignorant and barbarous. They had long traded with and were well known to the Belgic and Gallic nations, whose youths were occasionally sent hither to complete their education. Carte, but more especially Whitaker, has made it appear from sufficient authorities that the great commercial nations of antiquity, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, traded to this island for a long period before the Romans made their appearance in the western parts of Europe. The first commerce of the Britons, according to Whitaker, was occasioned by the resort of the Phœnicians to their coasts.⁵ This was before the time of Herodotus, and about 500 years before the Christian era. The trade was opened with the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands at that period, antecedent to the establishment of Roman power here; the trade of the island, it is believed, was considerable; two roads were laid across it, reaching from Carnarvon to Sandwich, on one side, and from Dorsetshire to Suffolk, on the other, namely, the Ikening Street, that led to the one from the Iceni, and Watling Street, that led to the Irish Guetheli, denominated by the British Sarn Guetheling, or road of the Irish. The trade of tin was removed from Scilly, and settled in the Isle of Wight; the metal was transported by the Belgic traders over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the other side, and sent by horses along the roads, or by boats along the rivers, to Marseilles and Narbonne. The exports were, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, besides tin, gold, silver, iron, lead, hides, cattle, corn, and slaves; dogs, gems, mussel pearls, polished horn, objects of bone, horse collars, amber toys, and glass vessels; baskets, the silvery marl from Kent, mentioned by Pliny, and oysters.

I have quoted this from the *Cambrian Register*, now a scarce book, but it well deserves perusal, as are also the histories by Whitaker and Carte. The statement places before us the fact that Anglesey was then commercially known to Ireland as well as England; that the produce of the country was sought after by nations before the coming of the Romans, and that the mines of Anglesey may have

⁵ Pliny, lib. vii. c. 56.

been worked in very early times for export to foreign countries.

In various parts of Anglesey copper cakes have been found—three were brought to light in 1867 at Llechylched ; of these two are now in the possession of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams and the Rev. Hugh Prichard. These cakes weigh about 45 lb. each ; they bear no mark, and probably are not Roman. A detailed notice of the discovery will ere long be given by Mr. Prichard in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

I can trace three others ; one found at Caerhûn, and now at Mostyn, is described by Pennant, and noticed in the *Archæological Journal* by Mr. Albert Way in a memoir on vestiges of ancient metallurgy in Britain ;⁶ one is in the Caernarvon Museum ; and a small cake found at Llangwyllog is preserved at the residence of Sir R. Bulkeley, Bart., at Baron Hill, Anglesey. Old workings for copper are traced at Amlwch, Parys Mine, Orme's Head, and also on Snowdon,⁷ as we are informed by Mr. C. Reed, F.S.A. Pearls were obtained at Conway and conveyed to Rome, where they were much esteemed. All this local wealth, if known to the Romans, may have induced them to invade Mona.

If we consider the value of Anglesey to the Romans strategically, from its prominent position as an outpost, it was absolutely required to take the precaution to occupy and garrison all the strongholds, for the sake of security against the attacks of tribes hostile to Roman rule beyond the seas, or from the half-subjected inhabitants of Mona itself, and to protect the new settlements of Segontium and Conovium (Caernarvon and Caerhûn, near Conway), and other stations in North Wales. Still more was this indispensable to them if Ireland was to be invaded.

I will not enter into the discussion whether the Romans ever occupied Ireland ; this subject has been discussed at considerable length by Mr. Wright and Mr. Brash, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.⁸ As no one, however, has alleged that a yard of Roman road, masonry, or earthwork has been found in Ireland, we may conclude that no position there ever was occupied for any length of time, even if any descent was actually made upon its shores.

⁶ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xvi.

⁷ *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries*, second series, vol. i. p. 10.

⁸ *Arch. Cambr.*, third series, vol. xii. p. 296 ; vol. xiii. p. 83.

Was the expedition of the Romans into the remote island of Mona only to chastise the Druids and destroy their power? Possibly that may have been one object, as the Druids incited the natives to resist the Roman power; but it was not the custom of the Romans to war against the religion of a conquered nation. It is probable, therefore, that the search after mineral wealth and tribute, and the view to their own security, may have induced the Romans to hold Anglesey with a strong force.

Finding that the natives had been, or were, working the mines in Anglesey, it is natural that the Romans should employ native labor to raise the mineral, which they may probably have taken as tribute.

Mr. Tate, in his account of certain early vestiges in Northumberland, mentions slag heaps found on the moors of Eglingham and Harehope, a district abounding with (carboniferous formation) ironstone, and coal and limestone; these heaps always occur near ancient British camps and circular dwellings.⁹ We find the same on the hill-sides in North Wales; the ore was probably smelted on open hearths.

In Sussex and Kent, I have been informed that the Romans extracted iron from peat. In the bog near the Ty Mawr huts the peat is strongly impregnated with iron; and until very lately the peat at Parys Mountain, Amlwch, was burnt, the ashes containing a small percentage of copper. I learn from Mr. T. F. Evans, the able manager of the mines, that copper being so low in value it is no longer worth smelting.

In giving this memoir to the public, I feel how necessary it is to suspend all hasty conclusions as to the real nature of the objects found, or the races who inhabited these huts. A complete and searching investigation by the ablest archaeologists is requisite before we can attempt to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. I here offer these remarks, as, in my former memoir, from the absence of all traces of metal or pottery in the excavations then made, I was inclined to give an earlier date to the occupation of the village at Ty Mawr than the time of the Roman conquest.

The recent investigations, however, have dispelled my former conclusions too hastily formed; nevertheless, I do not

⁹ Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.

think that anything then advanced is adverse to what we might expect to find under the new aspect that now presents itself to us.

The first huts excavated in 1862 were entirely different in their arrangement and in the objects found in them to those examined in 1868. The former I still must consider as huts set apart for cooking. Stone-boiling or cooking appears to me more probable now than formerly ; all recent research teaches us that it was a custom prevalent in all Celtic countries, even to a late period of our history. Mr. Campbell, of Islay, tells me that what Capt. Birt stated, in 1746, regarding the customs of the islanders in the Hebrides, although he was never there himself, is known to be the common tradition. The islanders were accustomed to cook their beef in the hide, and in wooden vessels hollowed out with their dirks and the aid of fire. Into these they threw heated stones for the purpose of cooking their food and boiling water.¹

Sir Richard Griffith also informs me that a Roman Catholic priest at Mallow, with whom he had occasion to converse, in reference to the great heaps of stones on the hill sides in Ireland bearing marks of fire, and as to which the local tradition was that they had been places where charcoal had been made,—told him that it was well known that the natives, in former times, had used the stones for heating water and cooking food in wooden vessels.

We may suppose that the Romans found a native mining population at Ty Mawr and Holyhead ; what could be more natural than that the natives should be compelled by their conquerors to continue mining operations for their benefit, whilst the native Britons continued to live in the huts that they had previously occupied, and retained their ancient customs.

Since this memoir was written, I have had the great pleasure and advantage of visiting the huts again, in company with Sir Richard Griffith, Bart. As a geologist and

¹ In connection with the curious subject of stone-boiling I may cite the narrative of Gilbert Malcom Sproat in his account of *Savage Life in Vancouver's Island*. He states that the natives use dishes formed of wood, either hollowed from a block or having sides fastened with wooden pegs. They carry water in

these, and the practice is to heat the water by throwing hot stones into it until it boils. They soften the split tree to form a canoe, when partly hollowed by axes of elk horn or shell ; in the same way filling it with water and heating with hot stones.

mineralogist no one is more competent to form an opinion. He was greatly interested in all that he saw at Ty Mawr and Pen y Bonc; it could not be doubted that some extensive works had there been carried on, connected in some manner with metallurgical operations; but, as we had before remarked, there was no scoria in any quantity, nor, as it appeared to him, the indispensable means and appliances for smelting hard ores; still they might perhaps have worked metal in these huts, or even smelted the soft carbonates of copper usually found on the surface of lodes, similar to the nodule found and examined by Prof. Ramsay. The quantity and large size of many of the pounding and smoothing stones found could not have been for the exclusive purpose of preparing food; those appliances must have been used in some sort of manufacture.

When visiting the coast of Antrim, I was struck with the intense white heat produced by burning the kelp, or seaweed, in open kilns made with perforations or open-work in the building, to allow the blast of air to act as a bellows. May not the ancients have found that the alkali served as a solvent, and thus have smelted the ore near the sea-shore where it was found, and where the lode is most easily worked?

I cannot conclude without noticing the conduct of some unknown visitors at the huts recently explored at Ty Mawr. I had purposely left everything exactly as I had excavated it, for the advantage of all interested, to see how the arrangement had been. They hired persons to pick up the mortars and stones, and carried away the best; so that I have been obliged to remove the remainder into a place of safety. Such conduct cannot be too highly blamed; it destroys the pleasure of so many intelligent persons desirous to examine the remains, and it is in itself a most dishonest act.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUND-PLANS OF CIRCULAR HUTS AND BUILDINGS EXCAVATED IN 1868.

No. 1. Ground-plan of the hut, first examined, at the east end of the village of Ty Mawr (the hut to the south of a triangle of huts, under M in the word Mynydd, in the Survey of the Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod, given with the former memoir in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxiv., p. 229).

No. 2. Hut at the extreme west end of the village, near the road to the South Stack (in a line with the last letter of the word Stack, in the Survey).

No. 3. Hut 15 yards north of the one excavated in 1862, and described in the former memoir.

No. 4. Hut in the group at the west end of the village, and near Nos. 2 and 3.

No. 5. Portion of circular foundations in the same group as the last.

No. 6. Hut situated above Nos. 4 and 5, in the fence to the north of the village. In this building there were appearances of a fierce fire having been made. Coins, numerous fragments of coarse pottery, with charcoal, and much slag, were here found.

There is a small building, or chamber, of oval or oblong form, and lined with stone, adjacent to the south end of each of the huts, Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

No. 7. An oblong building or pit, with a fire-place at one side, and a stone seat. Near the hut, No. 3.

No. 8. Oblong building, with an opening (like a doorway?) at one side. Near the hut, No. 4.

No. 9. Oblong building or pit, situated 15 yards S.E. of the hut, No. 6. This pit, the floor of which is curiously channeled, is carefully lined with stone laid in courses. In this building the supposed nozzle of a pair of bellows was found. The pit might possibly have been used in some process connected with smelting metal. (See *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, under Metal and Mines; and *Dr. Ure's Dictionary of the Arts*.)

The Samothracians used a simple process of smelting iron: Sir Gardner Wilkinson has described the method employed.

IMPLEMENTS AND OBJECTS OF STONE FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS.
(See Woodcuts).

Fig. 1. Interior view of the hut first excavated. Ground-plan No. 1. The supposed chimney in the north wall of the hut, the position of the mortar, rubbing-stone, &c., and the fire-place near the middle of the area are here shown.

Fig. 2. Small stone cup, that may have been used as a lamp; it measures about 2 inches in each direction. Several objects of this description were found. Somewhat similar lamps, formed of soap-stone, are used by the Esquimaux. Stone cups, intended possibly for the like uses, have been repeatedly found in Scotland: these for the most part have small handles or ears; the lamps used by the Esquimaux are frequently formed without handles.

Figs. 3, 4. Stone whorls; possibly fastenings of the dress. About 14 objects of this description were found. (The woodcuts are of the full size.)

Fig. 5. Oval pebbles, of various sizes ; supposed to have been sling-stones.

Fig. 6. Small oval black pebbles, rubbed down to a flat surface, and well polished ; probably used for some game. (The woodcuts are of the full size.)

Figs. 7, 8, 9. Objects of stone apparently selected on account of their natural forms, being suitable for use as hand-hammers, or for some process of trituration. Implements of like fashion have occurred in the north of England, and elsewhere ; somewhat similar objects seem to have been used also by the Carib Indians.

Since the examinations were carried out in 1868, a remarkable specimen has been found at Ty Mawr, weighing 10 lbs. The form is well suited for being grasped by the hand, for use in pounding, or the like.

Figs. 10, 11. Stone hammers, of a form that occurs in all countries, and found in old mine workings ; they are more or less grooved around the middle, probably for the purpose of attaching them to wooden handles by means of animal sinew, bands of skin, or even by withy bands twisted round, and strongly lashed, a mode of hafting implements of stone commonly used by savage nations.

Fig. 12. A rounded stone, somewhat resembling a weight : the bottom is flat, as if the stone might have served for some process of trituration ; on the top there are two singular projections, separated by an intervening groove. The general form of this stone may have been natural, but the object has probably been adapted artificially for some use, which it is not easy to define. The stone measures at the bottom $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and about 2 inches in height.

Fig. 13. A small oval cup of stone, suited for use as a lamp. Length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Compare the notice of Fig. 2, *supra*.

Fig. 14. A rounded stone, flat at top and bottom, rubbed down with considerable care, so as to reduce it to an irregularly spherical form, with numerous facets all around its circumference. Of these flat rounded stones several examples occurred ; their use has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Diameter, 3 inches.

Fig. 15. Another implement of the same class and dimensions ; it may have been a polishing stone, and has been worked with considerable care, so as to give regularity in giving the rounded form of its contour. There appear to be no indications of use as a hammer. Several other like objects of ruder fashion were found, formed of quartz.

Fig. 16. An oblong trough or mould formed of trap. Found in the excavations at Pen y Bona. Length 18 in., breadth 10 in., height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. It had been broken into several pieces, and the ends were much fractured. The cavity is well polished, and the surface within, when carefully examined by the microscope, has a certain appearance indicating exposure to great heat, that had produced a slight degree of vitrification. At one of the ends there is a round cavity, about the size of half an orange, the use of which it is very difficult to conjecture, more especially in the present imperfect and broken condition of that extremity of the block of stone. It has been supposed that the oblong trough may have been used as a mould for running melted metal. A fragment of another similar object was found, of the like material, and of which it appeared that the dimensions, in its perfect state, were nearly the same. At the

extremity of the stone there was likewise a cavity, as in the object first described, but of oval form.

Fig. 17. A well-formed oval hammer of trap rock. (Found at Pen y Bonc.) It measures rather more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, 3 in. in breadth, and is perforated for hafting; the perforation is about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This implement, of comparatively rare type, has been presented to the British Museum. The moiety of a second similar implement, of decomposed granite, was found in the Ty Mawr huts; when perfect it had measured about 6 in. in length by 5 in. in breadth. Another specimen (of decomposed granite?), precisely similar in form and appearance, the surface much weathered, is in the possession of Mr. Granville Leveson Gower; it was found near his residence, Titsey Park, Surrey, and has been figured in the Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. iv., p. 237.

Fig. 18. A sharpening-stone, the surface being marked by transverse grooved lines, produced apparently in the process of sharpening some edged implement. This piece of stone, much fractured at each of its ends, measures about 6 in. by 5 in. These scorings may be compared with those occurring, to a much greater extent, on certain rocks in Caernarvonshire and other places in North Wales, and supposed to have been produced in sharpening weapons, arrow-heads, and the like. A remarkable example, now destroyed, existed near Aber in Caernarvonshire, where the Welsh princes anciently had a residence. This stone, wholly covered with scorings caused, according to popular tradition, in sharpening arrows and the like, was known as "*Carreg y saethau*,"—the stone of arrows. It has been figured, Arch. Journ., vol. xxi., p. 170.

Fig. 19. Another sharpening-stone, scored with three deep grooves; it measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length and breadth, and 1 in. greatest thickness. In one of the grooves lay a small irregularly-fashioned object of stone, possibly an implement for some use not ascertained. It is represented at the side of the woodcut. These relics, and also that last described, were found in the hut No. 3.

Fig. 20. A four-sided implement of stone, fashioned with considerable care; the sides are flat and smooth; one extremity is worked to a sharp edge. (Found at Pen y Bonc.) It has been suggested that it might have served as a burnisher, or polishing-stone. Dimensions, about 4 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; thickness, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. In the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury there is an implement of stone, found near Frome, Somerset, similar in general form and dimensions.

A considerable number of pebbles, with indications of having probably served for various mechanical or other uses were found, some of them bearing traces of percussion, whilst others may have served as mullers or rubbers, or for polishers and the like. Amongst them occurred the little



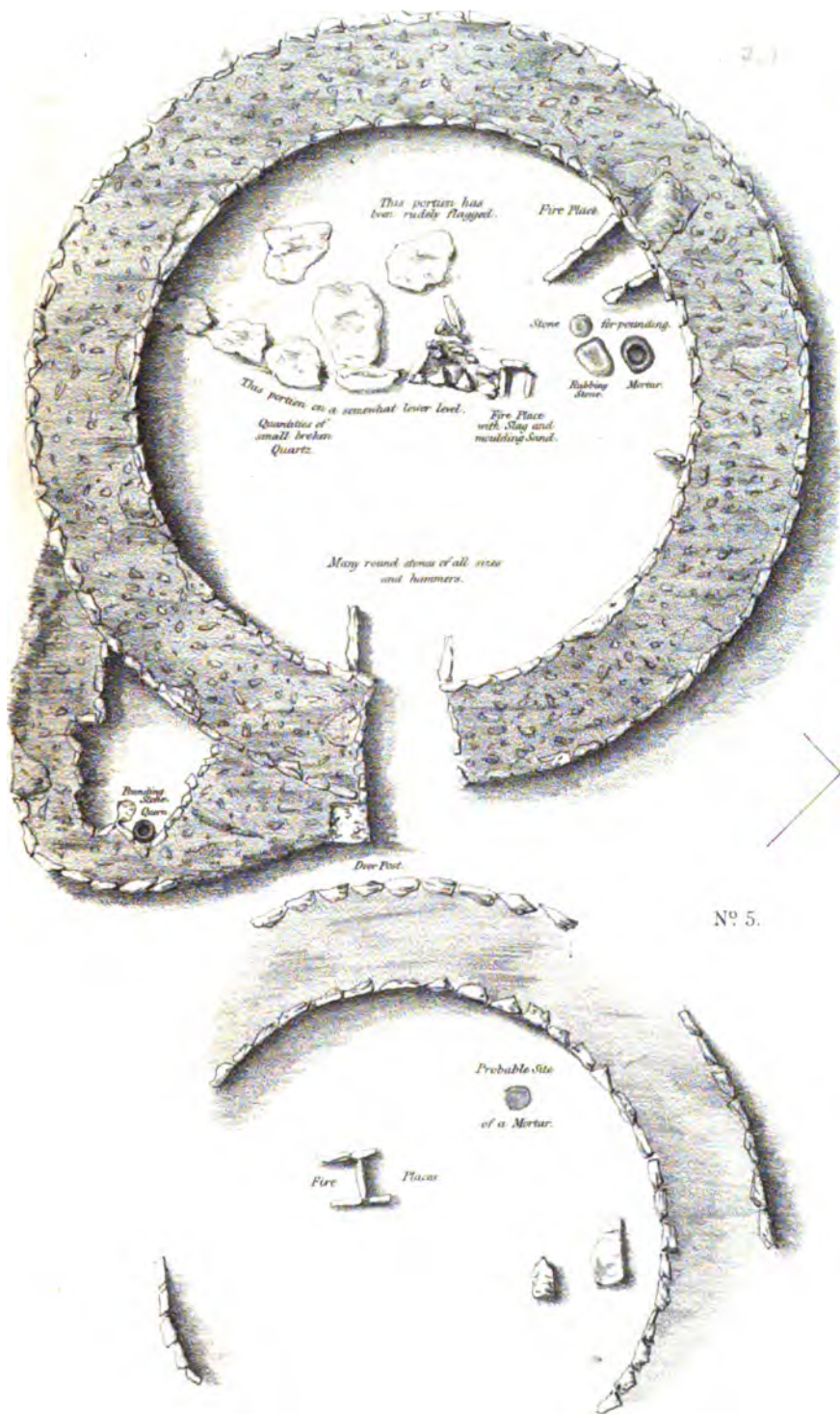
Fig. 21. Small stone muller. Side view and profile.

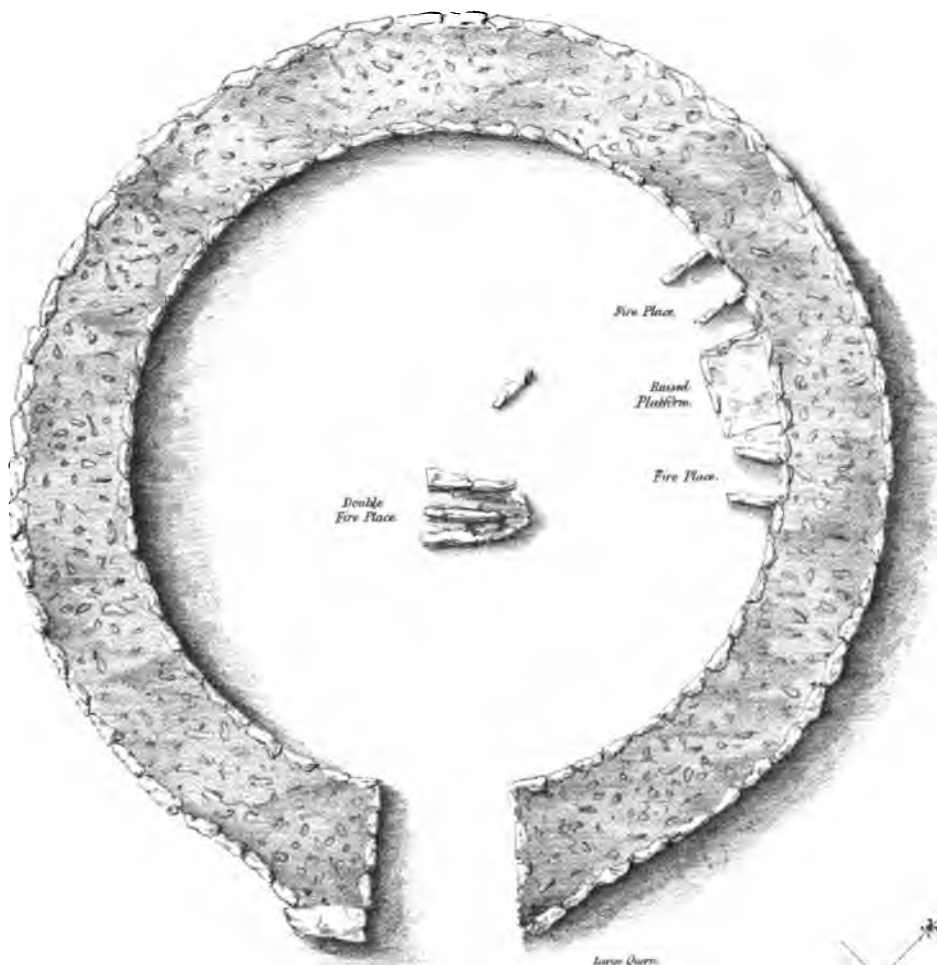
object here figured, Fig. 21, measuring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., greatest breadth. The appearance of friction upon the surface of this and other stones, suitable by their form for certain purposes, seem to entitle them to be regarded as implements of simple character.

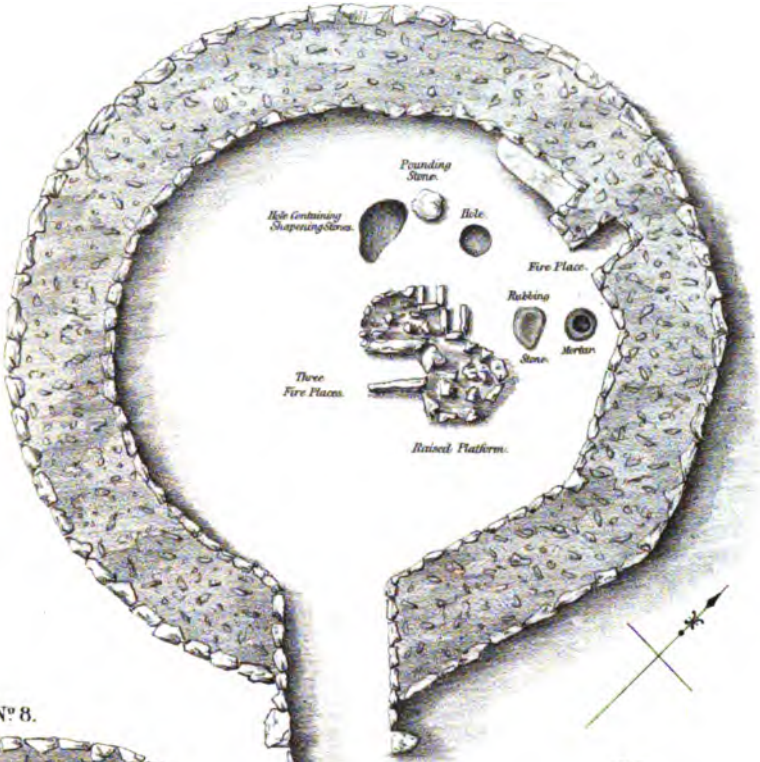
In all the huts there were found oval and round sea-shore pebbles, measuring from a small size to 4 in. in diameter, in great quantities, and presenting the appearance of having been exposed to great heat, probably in the process of "stone-boiling." Notices of the occurrence of the like indications of that usage were given in a former memoir, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxiv., p. 248. Some smooth pebbles may have been missiles and sling-stones; some, mostly of hard quartz, may have been, as indicated by traces of percussion, hand-hammers, with which certain implements of stone were fashioned and chipped. They do not appear, as shown by their rough and notched surfaces, to have served in pounding or grinding grain and the like.

Two "saddle querns" of grit-stone were found, of fashion similar to that found at Ty Mawr in 1862, and figured *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxiv., p. 244; also numerous broken rubbers, the oblong upper stones or "runners," that were used with the grinding appliances of that peculiar description. There were also portions of rounded objects of trap-rock, that in their perfect state may have measured about 10 in. in diameter, and 3 in. in thickness, well smoothed and polished, and fitting the stone mortars, which occurred in so many instances in the remarkable ancient buildings that have been described.

The Institute is indebted to the gratifying liberality of the Author of the foregoing valuable memoir, by whom the greater part of the accompanying illustrations have been contributed.



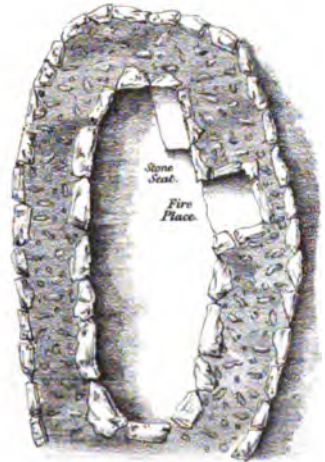




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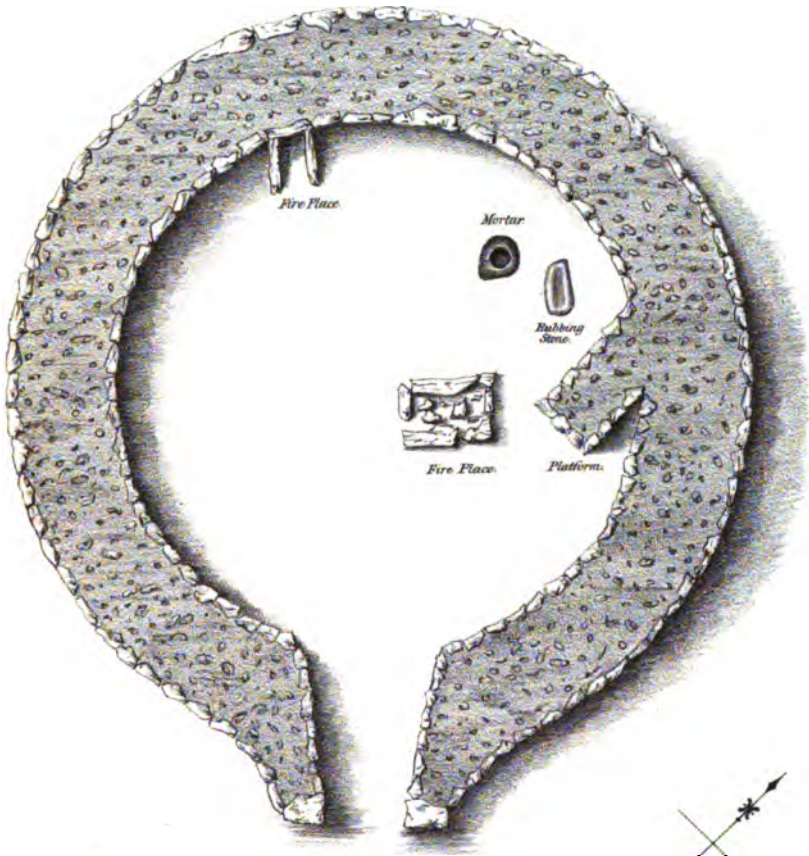
FOUNDATIONS OF CIRCULAR BUILDINGS AT TY MAWR, HOLYHEAD ISLAND.

SCALE.
1/8 inch = 1 foot

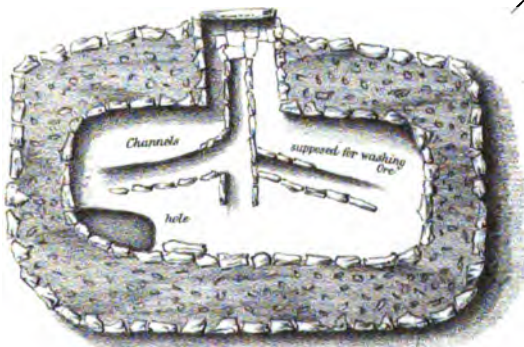
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Surveyed 1868 by M^r T. P. Elliott, of Penrth

Nº 4.



Nº 9.



Slag and coarse Pottery in abundance.

FOUNDATIONS OF CIRCULAR BUILDINGS AT TY MAWR, HOLYHEAD ISLAND.

SCALE.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ inch = 1 foot

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Surveyed 1868 by M^r T. P. Elliott, of Penrhos

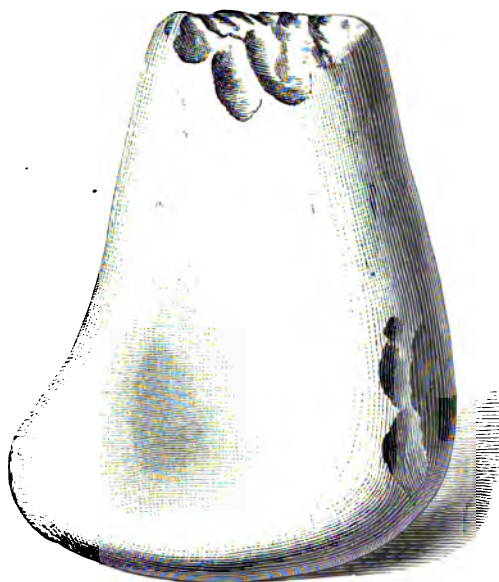


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

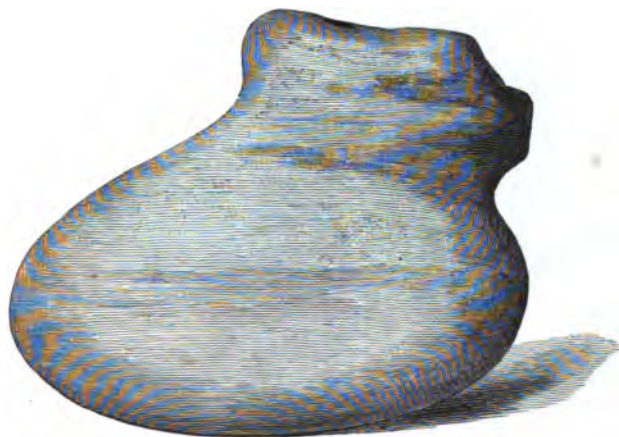


Fig. 9.

**I. Implements of stone, found in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, on the estates of the
Hon. William Owen Stanley, F.S.A.**

(Scale, two-thirds original size.)

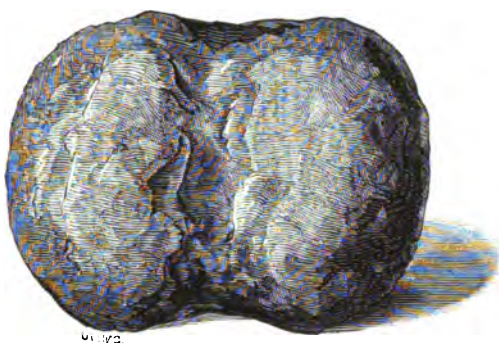


Fig. 10.

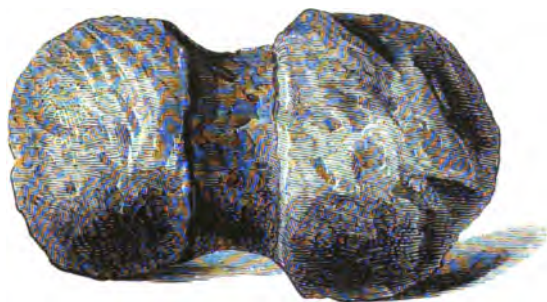


Fig. 11.

II. Hammers or Implements of stone, found in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, on the estates of the Hon. William Owen Stanley, F.S.A.

(Scale, half original size.)



Fig. 13.

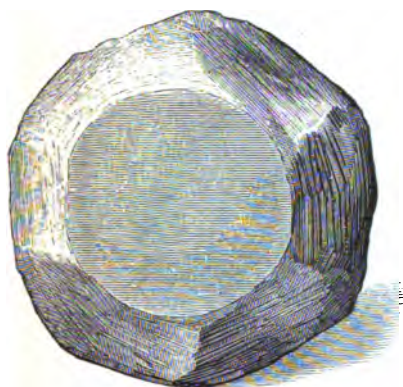


Fig. 14.

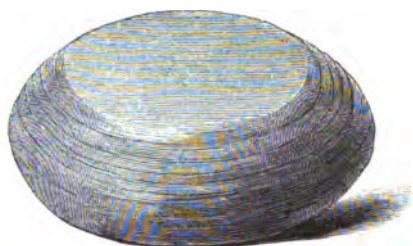


Fig. 15.



Fig. 12.

III. Cup and relics of stone, found in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, on the estates of the Hon. William Owen Stanley, F.S.A.

(Scale, two thirds original size.)



Fig. 17.

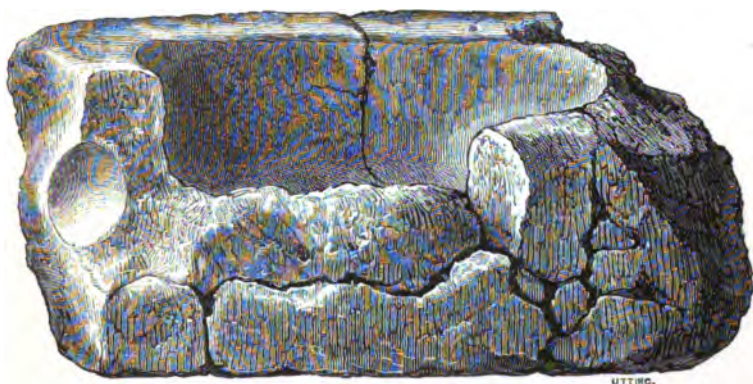


Fig. 16.

IV. Ancient objects of stone, found in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, on the estates of the Hon. William Owen Stanley, F.S.A.

Fig. 17.—Hammer-head, length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Fig. 16.—Oblong trough, length 18 in., breadth 10 in.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

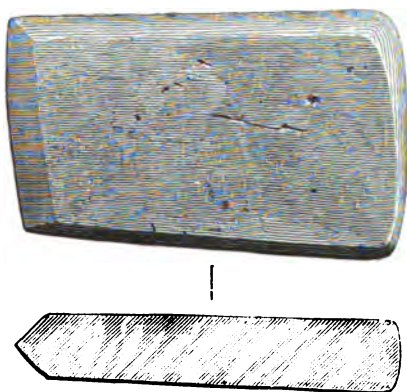


Fig. 20.

V. Ancient objects of stone, found in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, on the estates of the Hon. William Owen Stanley, F.S.A.

(Scale, half original size.)

SOME NOTES ON FACTS IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF SIR
SIMONDS D'EWES.

By the late JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.¹

It is one of the many advantages attendant upon gatherings like the present, that they furnish opportunities for directing attention to the biographies of celebrated persons connected with the districts visited. Local interest thus excited brings to light facts before unnoticed, and gives an opportunity for putting upon record floating traditions which may possibly contain some germs of truth, or may lead inquirers into new fields of investigation.

One cannot visit any part of Suffolk without coming upon the tracks of persons whose names are inscribed upon the roll of our eminent men. A glance at the Worthies of kind and pleasant Fuller² at once reminds us of the following, among many others :—St. Edmund, Cardinal Wolsey, Lord Keeper Bacon ; Bishops Herbert Loring, Grossetête, Aungerville, Bale, Gardiner, Maude, Brownrigg, and Overall ; Secretary Naunton ; Lidgate and Southwell among our older poets ; Cavendish, the navigator ; Sir Robert Hitcham, Sir William Cordell, Lords Chief Justices Cavendish, Howard, and Brooke ; Rowland, Taylor, Richard Sibbes, Samuel Ward, and many other clergymen ; Sir William Drury, and, last in Fuller's enumeration, Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

Fuller left unnoticed many persons of equal celebrity with most of those he named, and additions innumerable might be made of worthies who have lived since Fuller wrote. In no respect has Suffolk degenerated. In every profession and in every walk of art, in literature, in mechanical improvements, especially those connected with agriculture, in the wide fields of military and naval enterprise, and in the less conspicuous but invaluable labours of the patient, learned

¹ Read in the Historical Section of the Annual Meeting at Bury St. Edmunds, July 22, 1869. By the sudden and deeply lamented death of the author of this memoir, it has not received the advantage of

his correction of the "proof." But, at his own desire, it was returned to him after having been read at Bury, and prepared by him for the press.

² Ed. 1811, ii. 324.

student, this county has ever shown itself to be a soil fertile of those qualities which contribute to national glory.

My object is to offer a few notes upon the last person mentioned by Fuller, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who lived for some time in this town (Bury Saint Edmunds), and whose family was seated in this county and in this neighbourhood for several generations.

Sir Simonds was *par éminence* an antiquary; but let not that circumstance repel anyone. It would not be in accordance with what a well-known philosopher of the last century termed "the fitness of things," if they who come together to give attention to antiquities should leave antiquaries unnoticed.

The first traces of the name of D'Ewes in this country are shadowy and uncertain. Sir Simonds commemorates a Peter de la Duse, an Alexander del Ewe, a Robert del Ewes, and an Edward Deux, as names occurring in the Public Records between the reigns of Henry III. and Edward IV.³ In those of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. there are many traces (not observed by Sir Simonds) of a Giles Dewes, a native of France, who combined in his own person a professional acquaintance with music, a power of teaching his native language, and a taste for literature which showed itself in several useful ways. The earliest traces of this Dewes describe him as attached to the household of Prince Arthur, in the capacity of the young prince's "schoolmaster for the French tongue."⁴ When his royal pupil married, the services of Dewes were transferred to Prince Arthur's younger brother, Henry Duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII.; and as a "luter" in that duke's musical establishment, Dewes received a grant of sixteen yards of "good blakke chamlet" to make him a gown against the marriage of Prince Arthur.⁵ We next find him mentioned as "sometyme instructour" to his royal master "in this selfe tongue" of France;⁶ and in due time, when Henry had thoroughly emancipated himself from all tutors and governors, Dewes was appointed to exercise his teaching faculty towards the Princess Mary, the future queen; but before that duty fell upon him, he had been appointed keeper of the royal library

³ Harl. MS. 381, fos. 51—56.

⁴ Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 185, ed. 1767.

⁵ Warrant to the Keeper of the Ward-

robe (Pub. Records), 17 Hen. VIII., 2 Nov.

⁶ Herbert's Ames, i. 470.

at the palace of Richmond, which secured him a salary of 10*l.* per annum, and various other benefits.⁷ It was whilst teacher of French for the Princess Mary that he compiled for her use a curious little book, among the earliest, if not the very first, of its kind in our language:—"An Introductione for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speake French trewly." There were many editions of this work published by different printers in the reign of Henry VIII., but it is now a book of considerable rarity. A copy, printed by Thomas Godfray, is mentioned by Dibdin⁸ as being in the library of Mr. Douce; two copies, one printed by John Waley and the other "by Nicolas Bourman for John Reyns," are in the Grenville Library; and it was reprinted at Paris in 1852 in the edition of *Palsgrave's Éclaircissement* included among the French "*Documens Inédits*." A work so frequently reproduced must at any event have had the merit of applicability to the period of its publication, and ought alone to save the name of "the singular clerk, Master Gilet Dewes," from oblivion. His earthly remains found a resting place in the church of St. Olave's Jewry. An inscription which formerly stood there to his memory,⁹ disappeared in the Great Fire, if not before.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, so far from acknowledging any genealogical connection with Giles Dewes, maintains a remarkable silence in reference to him. Among the worthy knight's multifarious genealogical memoranda, I have not observed any notice or allusion to him whatsoever.

All Sir Simonds's researches at that particular period are directed towards an Adrian Dewes, who was unquestionably his great-grandfather. He came into England from Guelderland early in the reign of Henry VIII., and practised some trade in the city of London, perhaps connected with the manufacture or sale of cloth, for he lived in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, near Basing Hall, the great cloth mart. All our knowledge of him is comprised in a single glance at his death-bed. In 1551 he was attacked with the sweating sickness. In all haste he made his will, directed that he should be buried "in the churchyard of St. Michael," left to his four sons, Garret, James, Peter, and Andrew, a portion of 20*l.* apiece, and appointed his wife, Alice, sole

⁷ Brewer's Cal. Henry VIII., i. 75, 294, 339.

⁸ Dibdin's Ames, iii. 68.

⁹ Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 185.

executrix of all his goods, "moveable and immoveable." His will bore date on the 15th July, 1551, and the testator was buried on the following day.¹

Adrian's widow was unfortunate. She married again, and her second husband was a spendthrift. With a view to the welfare of her children, she strove to keep out of his clutches some portion of the produce of Adrian Dewes's estate. She hoarded the money, and hid it away in a secret place. Her husband suspected the fact, and remarked that whilst sitting in the chimney-corner she continually cast furtive glances towards a particular spot. He searched, and up the chimney, in a soot-covered nook, he discovered a concealed cupboard, containing a deposit said to have amounted to a thousand marks in gold.²

But Garret Dewes, Adrian's eldest son, was one of those men whose welfare in the world does not depend upon any inheritance. He was a printer, regularly apprenticed and brought up to the trade in the city of London,³ and kept shop at the sign of the Swan in St. Paul's Churchyard. Many of the books printed by him are of a grave and serious character, but he himself was a humourist. With tradesman-like desire of attracting attention to his shop, his press, and his name, he adopted a printer's mark, which is placed by Camden⁴ among the most memorable of "the witty inventions of Londoners." It represents the gable end and part of one side of a house. On the topmost or *garret* floor there is a window open. Within we catch sight of two persons playing with dice. One has just thrown, and we are to understand that the throw is a *deuce*! In our days the most inveterate lover of a pun would probably regard such a mode of indicating "Garret Dewes" as partaking more of vulgarity than of wit, but as a specimen of the humour which was acceptable to our ancestors it has its curiosity, and as a fact it will be found to be of some importance in connection with Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

As an advertisement it was probably successful. Garret D'Ewes became a thriving citizen. He made money; he purchased the manor of Gains, with a gentlemanly residence,

¹ The will was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of London. An office copy exists in Harl. MS., 381.

² Autobiography of Sir Simonds

D'Ewes, i. 11.

³ Dibdin's Ames, iv. 940.

⁴ Remaines, ed. 1637, p. 166.

near the pleasant village of Upminster in Essex. He retired from his business, and died at Upminster on the 12th April, 1591.

Garret D'Ewes had an only son named Paul, a name which his son assures us that he came by somewhat oddly. When the godfathers, in the course of the baptismal service, were called upon to name the child, an "unseasonable strife," it is said, arose between them as to the answer. They neither agreed between themselves, nor with the child's father. In the midst of the squabble the clergyman, learning that the child was born on the 25th January, "the day allotted for the Apostle Paul's conversion," terminated all dispute by giving the child the name of the Apostle. Paul D'Ewes was entered of the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar; but preferring the safe to his chance of the brilliant, he invested 5000*l.* of his share in his father's accumulations in the purchase of one of the six clerkships of the Court of Chancery, an office which brought him in the very handsome return of about 1650*l.* per annum. This income, with the residue of his inherited property, all nursed with the most anxious care by the thrifty Paul, was increased by a marriage with the youthful heiress of a barrister named Richard Simonds, brother of the Thomas Simonds who built the chambers in Chancery Lane, still known by the name of Simonds Inn. The property at Upminster having gone to the Lathums with Alice Dewes, Paul's only sister, he purchased the residence and estate of Wells Hall, Milding, near Lavenham, in this county of Suffolk. His office required his attendance in London only during term. Between term and term he resided at Wells Hall, and when in London occupied apartments in connection with his office in Chancery Lane. In 1602, the year of Sir Simonds's birth, his father's ordinary way of life chanced to be departed from, and Simonds was born at Coxden, near Chardstock, in Dorsetshire, the residence of his maternal grandfather, from whom he derived his Christian name, and acquired considerable property.

Sir Simonds has given, in his Autobiography, minute particulars of his youthful years. Two schools in Suffolk are commemorated by him with praise derived from personal experience; one at Lavenham, where he had for school-fellows Cloptons and Barnardistons, members of the leading families in that part of the county; and the other at Bury

St. Edmunds, under the mastership of John Dickenson, whose high merits he records with gratitude.

From Bury Simonds went to St. John's, Cambridge, where he was entered a Fellow Commoner on the 20th May, 1618. He spent but two years at Cambridge, being then withdrawn by his father, of course without a degree, and transferred to the Middle Temple, where, by a bad custom then permitted, he had been entered as a student many years before. This Cambridge portion of his life has been made the subject of a separate publication, written by I know not whom,⁵ but full of interest and information. It gives, indeed, the best account we have of the state of the University of Cambridge at that time.

Shortly after Simonds D'Ewes went to Cambridge, he lost his mother by death. Left altogether in the hard hand of a penurious and choleric father, he bitterly bewails the insufficiency of his allowance, which, when at Cambridge, had been but 50*l.* per annum (he would have been satisfied with 60*l.*), and whilst a student at the Temple was but 60*l.*, until he was called to the bar in 1623. His father's parsimony had for a time found an excuse in a circumstance connected with Wells Hall. Lawyer as he was, he had bought that place with a bad or incomplete title, and was ejected from it by a widow, who established a right to it for her life, and lived on until 1632. But this mishap was quickly followed by a considerable accession of wealth on the death of his wife's father. Ejected from Wells Hall, Paul D'Ewes occupied Lavenham Hall, which also belonged to him, for a brief period, and then purchased, from Sir Robert Ashfield, what Sir Simonds calls "the goodly and pleasant" Stow Hall in Stowlangtoft, which thenceforth became the principal residence of the family.

Sir Simonds records the increase of his allowance, on his being called to the bar, in terms which sufficiently indicate his gratitude. "My father, immediately on my said call to the bar, enlarged my former allowance with 40*l.* more yearly; so as, after this plentiful annuity of 100*l.* was duly and quarterly paid me by him, I found myself eased of so many cares and discontents as I may well account that the 27th day of June foregoing (the day of his call) was the

⁵ College Life in the time of James the First, as illustrated by an unpublished

Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Lond. 8vo. 1841.

first day of my outward happiness since the decease of my dearest mother. For by this means, I even began already to gather for a library . . . spending upon books what I could spare from my more urgent and necessary expences.”⁶

D'Ewes never seems to have contemplated actual practice at the bar, but his legal education led to the exercise of his mind in what was its real bent—the acquisition of information upon subjects of genealogical and historical interest. He formed schemes for various great literary works. He prosecuted them for a time with ardour. But he permitted his literary ambition to be interrupted by more pressing business, and finally abandoned his contemplated publications as inapplicable to the times or to his leisure. The shore of the wide sea of antiquarian research is strewn with such wrecks. The lives of many other men besides Sir Simonds D'Ewes have been made up of them. In his case only one of his many contemplated works attained sufficient completeness to allow of its being published after his death. I allude, of course, to his Journals of all the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁷ As an historical authority this is a work of the highest value. At the present day it would have been put together upon what we esteem to be better principles of antiquarian workmanship, but, such as it is, it occupies a most important position in our historical literature, and will probably bear the name of Sir Simonds D'Ewes down with credit to the very latest posterity.

Throughout life nothing delighted him more than what he termed his “sweet and satisfying studies,” but what many other people would deem mere antiquarian drudgery. To transcribe an early manuscript of Fleta, to collate a plea roll of the time of Edward I., or to cull notes from the *Nigrum Registrum* of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds—these were the occupations to which he flew even for consolation in times of trouble. When he travelled in his coach alone, he tells us that it was his “usual course” to devote himself to some cartulary, leiger-book, or manuscript chronicle, and “many times also I read English books to others that travelled with me.”

But D'Ewes had other thoughts, more nearly allied to the pursuits of this every-day world, than those which he

⁶ Autobiog. i. 232.

⁷ Lond., fol. 1682.

devoted to records. His father anxiously desired to find a second wife, and the young lawyer's mind dwelt with sorrowful apprehension upon the possibility of another family arising to share with him his contemplated inheritance. This question affected also his own prospects in marriage; for, until his position in relation to his future share of his father's estate was definitely settled, no lady's friends would deem him in a condition to enter into a satisfactory treaty. He relates in his Autobiography, with amusing candour, the troubles which he met with on this account. At length he succeeded. He cast about in various directions to find some "good and ancient widow every way fit for his father to marry," and ultimately discovered such a lady in the person of Dame Elizabeth Denton, the childless survivor of Sir Anthony Denton of Kent. With much ado he managed to fix his wavering father, "whose fancy tended towards a younger helpmate," and "on a wet and gusty morning in March the young Templar, dressed out in all his summer braveries, descended with the ancient couple to the old crypt church of St. Faith's, under St. Paul's, where, to D'Ewes's great joy and comfort, the marriage was duly solemnized."^s

Nor was D'Ewes less successful in his own marriage. The particulars are too minute for relation on the present occasion, but the results are important in reference to his connexion with the county of Suffolk. Many offers were made to him, and all were investigated with the business-like particularity which was then customary. At length a lady was found who was in all respects unobjectionable. She had wealth, both present and in reversion. She had pedigree—she was the sole heiress of the Cloptons of Kentwell, an ancient Suffolk family, whose descent was traceable from a person named in Domesday. She had youth and beauty, and especially the aristocratical token of a hand of consummate delicacy and whiteness. Still further, she was nearly related to Sir Thomas Barnardiston, the head of a family which at that time was all-powerful in the county. It was a family, too, no less conspicuous for good looks than for local influence. It was the handsome *round head* of a Barnardiston, and Queen Henrietta Maria's inquiry—who was

^s Edinb. Rev., No. 169, p. 81.

its owner?—that is said to have given origin to the *cognomen* of the Puritan party.

Of all the lady's qualifications, next to her wealth, her long pedigree was one of the most acceptable to D'Ewes. Pride of ancestry was his ruling passion ; his strongest feeling, a longing to take rank among the old territorial gentry. For a man of such tastes his own pedigree was most annoying. As we have told the tale, it simply indicates, that a poor Dutchman emigrated into England early in the sixteenth century, and that his son, by successful labour in trade, acquired considerable wealth. But this was a version which Sir Simonds would by no means allow. According to him, Adrian Dewes was a lord in disguise ; and his ancestral stock one of great eminence in their native Guelderland—lords, or, as he terms them, “dynasts” of the “dition” of Kessel ; that Adrian came to England, not as a poor emigrant, but as a political exile ; and that, on the restoration of peace, he intended to return and demand the restitution of his hereditary “castle, town, and dition.” By perpetual reiteration, for it is a string upon which he was constantly harping, D'Ewes himself and his father probably came to believe this pretty tale. The evidence for it was twofold : 1. A parchment, authenticated by the signature of the principal herald of the Duke of Cleves, with the seal of his office in red wax suspended thereto by a label of silk ; and, 2. A little silver seal of arms, set in a handle of ivory. But unfortunately the parchment perished in a fire which happened at the Six Clerks' Office on the 20th December, 1621 ; and as to the little seal, which had been as it were miraculously preserved in a fire which had melted some thousands of 20s. pieces of gold, all that Sir Simonds could say about it was, that he had it “by tradition,” and “as was conceived,” that his great-grandfather had brought it over with him from Guelderland.

In such matters a little evidence goes a long way. The silver seal, and somebody's recollection of what was written on the burnt parchment, were perfectly satisfactory to D'Ewes. Upon the strength of these evidences he inserted an apostrophe between the “D” and the first “e” in his surname, which gave it something approaching to dignity ; and he converted his grandfather's Christian name “Garret,” which pointed so directly to the trade-mark, into “Geerardt,”

which, as we are told, was stated in the invaluable parchment to have been the common form of that name in the noble family of D'Ewes.

To testify to other people that he put faith in his ancestral honours Sir Simonds erected, in the church of St. Michael Bassishaw, a memorial window to his great-grandfather Adrian, and his wife Alice Ravenscroft. They were represented on their knees, one on each side of an altar or praying desk, the man in armour, and both of them wearing heraldic surcoats, on which arms intended for D'Ewes and Ravenscroft were boldly emblazoned. The great fire of 1666 dealt with this memorial, as that of 1621 had before done with the indisputable parchment; but a representation of the window was contributed by Sir Simonds to Weever's *Funeral Monuments*,⁹ with a description, in which he commemorates the glories of the family of "Des Ewes."

Sir Simonds further inserted, in the church of Upminster, a sepulchral brass to his grandfather, with a Latin inscription, in which Garret, or Geerardt, stands chronicled as sprung from the "illustrious and most ancient family of D'Ewes, the dynasty of the dition of Kessel in the duchy of Guelderland." The inscription still remains in the lately rebuilt church of Upminster, surmounted by a brass figure of the deceased. Various surrounding heraldic emblazonments have disappeared. The figure represents the printer of St. Paul's Church Yard as a mediæval warrior "clad in complete steel," and overcoming the powers of darkness, not by the enlightening influence of his publications, but by the mailed heel, as of an armed knight, trampling upon a vicious-looking nondescript animal. A plate representing this brass may be seen in Weever's *Funeral Monuments*.¹

How much of this little series of manœuvres is to be attributed to the father of Sir Simonds, and how much to Sir Simonds himself, it is not easy to determine. The memorial window and the sepulchral brass may, on the score of their expense, be safely assigned to Sir Simonds, but that his father encouraged the idea of the gentle origin of their family, if he did not invent it, is clear, if the following anecdote, told by the son, may be depended upon.

"In or about 1620, when Paul D'Ewes and the other Six

⁹ Ed. 1767, p. 441.

¹ Ed. 1767, p. 407.

Clerks were sent for by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, then residing at York House in the Strand, to contribute to the Germane warre for relief of the Palatinate, when the said Lord Chancellor pressing my Father to give a greater summe then hee thought to be iust and proportionable, and ther-upon excusing himselfe, the other verie insolentlie told him that hee knew well his beginning, alluding to the meane condition of his Father Geerardt D'Ewes; to which he with much boldnes presentlie replied, 'My Lord, my beginning was as noble as any man's in this Hall,' there being then present many gentlemen and others, wheereat the other made noe replie, as conscious perhapps to himselfe of his owne base and obscure extraction, his grandfather having been but one of the servants of the last Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds."²

Sir Simonds' marriage, on the 14th October, 1626, was followed, on the succeeding 6th December, by his knighthood. His father survived until the 14th March, 1631-2. From that period, Sir Simonds' wealth gave him a leading position in Suffolk, but it was not until 1639 that he was appointed sheriff. The office came upon him at the time when the public troubles were closing around the king and the administration of Archbishop Laud. To write upon the difficulties which Sir Simonds had to encounter, would be to give a page of the history of England; but one point, which may be shortly stated, will explain some portion of the subject.

Writs were sent to Sir Simonds in the way which had now become an annual custom, directing him to levy 8000*l.* upon his county for ship-money. Like all the other sheriffs, he found the command one which it was difficult to obey. The whole country was in a state of dissatisfaction, verging in many places upon rebellion. The contributions levied in the preceding year towards the expedition against the Scots had been highly unpopular, and after the dismissal of the Short Parliament the ship-money was paid with great unwillingness. The instructions from the Council to the sheriff for the levy were extremely simple. They were essentially comprised in two words,—demand and (in case of non-payment) distrain. But in practice there was much difference

² Harl. MS. 381, p. 44.

between the sheriffs in the execution of these stringent orders. Some used their power of distress in a harsh, oppressive manner, raising the money *coûte qui coûte*, and even personally interfering themselves in the execution of the disagreeable work. Such men received thanks from headquarters, but were detested by their counties. Others, and among them Sir Simonds D'Ewes, whose own feeling was adverse to the tax, as well as to the war against the Scots, treated the excuses of the people considerately, entered into the difficulties of the collectors, and gave time for payment. Such lenity did not suit either the necessities or the practice of the government. Another expedition against the Scots was in preparation. The money was wanted instantly. Immediately after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, letters were sent by the Council to the sheriffs who had not remitted their full amounts imputing to them negligence and disloyalty, and threatening them with punishment if their balances were not immediately paid in. These letters were shortly afterwards further enforced by other letters of a similar character signed by the King. D'Ewes received these letters, and immediately upon receipt of the latter, replied to both by petitions which are extant among the State Papers, in the Public Record Office. With some of the formalities and oddities of expression which are characteristic of the writer, both papers are straight-forward, manly documents. They run as follows :—

“[6 June, 1640 ?]

“ To the Kinge's most Excellent Majestie, the humble
Petition of the High Sheriffe of the Countie of
Suff[olk].

“ Humbly sheweth to your Imperiall Majestie your poore petitioner and loyall Subiecte, that hee hath with extreame greife & astonishment perused your Majestie most Roiall Letters to him directed, bearinge date at your Majesties palace of Westminster the seven and twentieth day of May last past in the sixteenth yeare of your Majesties most august raigne, which said Roiall Letters came not to your said petitioners hands vntill friday the fifth day of this instant June then next ensuing, For your Roiall Majesties said petitioner firmlie hopeth to iustifie his owne innocencie and integritie before God & your Imperiall Majestie, that hee

hath been noe wayes causallie guiltie by his Contempt or negligence of the not collecting and retur[n]ing of the said whole eight thousand poundes &c. that hee hath not in the least pointe swarued in that busines from his fayth and allegiance due to your Royall Majestie, or anie wayes thereby iustly incurred your Majesties high displeasure and iust indignation, moore bitter to a good and loiall Subiect then death it selfe. Nor yet hath, or euer willinglie shall incurre, by his neglect or miscarriage, any forfeitures or punishments to bee iustlie inflicted vpon him by the ancient and municipall Lawes of this Realme, but firmlie trusteth in God who is the Protector of the Innocent that hee will encline your Majesties Roiall heart throwlie to consider the greate care and diligence of your poore petitioner in the performance of this service, and to search out the true and iust causes why the whole remainder of the said eight thousand pounds &c. cannot possiblie bee collected by your Royall Majesties said poore petitioner. And for your Royall Majestie shall humblie and daylie praye &c.”

“[6 June, 1640 ?]

“To the Right honourable the Lordes of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsell.

“The humble petition of the High Sheriffe of the Countie of Suff[olk].

“Humbly sheweth, that vpon receite of your Lordships Letters bearing date at the Courte at Whitehall the 11th day of May last past 1640, your Petitioners sadd spirits weere much refreshed, findinge that your Lordships favourable admonitions do only denounce smarte & punishment against the default contempt and wilfull neglect of your said petitioner for not collectinge the whole shipp monie imposed on this said Countie &c., of all which your said petitioner is free and innocent, as he is readie to iustifie the same to his Jmperiall Majestie and your Lordships, although it cannot bee couched within the narrowe Limits & circuit of a petition. Humblie therefore beseecheth your Lordships your said petitioner to consider, That he is noe wayes causallie guiltie of the not collectinge of the said monie ; That hee hath gone as farre & further then the former Sheriffes of the said Countie of a few late passed yeares haue done when they gathered in a like Somme of monie as is nowe required ; That therefore if the true grounds & reasons of the slowe

payment doe not proceed from your said petitioners neglect or contempt, ther are other causes thereof, deadnes of trading, low prices of all commodities raised from the plough and paille, scarcitie & want of monie, great militarie charges of the last passed Sommer &c., accompanied with innumerable groanes and sighes, are the dailie retournes your poore petitioner receives instead of payment, though often pressed & demanded. That notwithstandinge your petitioner hath received noe quickening Letters from your Lordshipps since those bearinge date at Whitehall the 5th day of March 1639, yet hee hath by his diligence since that tyme collected seuerall sommes of mony, made two returnes to the Treasurer of the Navie, hath more to returne if he knew how safelie, & daily expects new paimentes from the high Constables of the said Countie with whome (as in the yeares of other Sheriffs) the maine & gist of the busines is now vested: which said monies vpon receite your petitioner will at the dayes appointed vse all diligence to returne, beinge enforced to runn great hazards for want of a *non obstante*, or his Royall Majesties speciall licence for your said petitioners personall repaire to London at all seasonable tymes duringe the continuance of this publicke employment: Humbly therefore beseecheeth your Lordshipps favour and Justice your said petitioner, that hee may never suffer for failinge in that which hee is not possible able to accomlishe although he should hazard both his health and life in the performance thereof. And for your Lordshipps shall daylie and humblie pray, &c.

“ [Endorsed by Edward Nicholas.]

“ R[ecieved] 8^o Iunij 1640.

“ Sheriff of Suffolkes petition ;

hath levyed more then he hath paid in.”

Such petitions were not acceptable at Westminster, where every thing was in confusion, and the Council at their wits' end. The Scots were on the Borders, and threatened an invasion of Northumberland. The king's levies were insufficient in number, unpaid, and mutinous. The Council were everywhere unsuccessful in their endeavours to procure money. Refusal, and dissatisfaction, which they esteemed to be disloyalty, met them on every side. At such a time every sheriff who made excuses and not payment was looked upon as an enemy. D'Ewes's petitions

were turned over to the attorney-general, who was ordered forthwith to proceed against him in the Star-Chamber for his great neglect and contempt in not executing the writ for the shipping business.³ The attorney-general was active, and D'Ewes ran a risk of being added to the army of political martyrs; but there was help at hand. The Scots invaded, Newcastle was taken by them, the government collapsed, another parliament was called, and one of its first acts was to stay all proceedings against sheriffs, connected with the levy of ship-money.

The influence of the Barnardistons, and D'Ewes's conduct in connection with the ship-money, procured his return to this parliament as member for Sudbury. His conduct in that position, as illustrated from his own unpublished diary or note-book, was long ago made the subject of an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. CLXIX., published in July, 1846), to which we may refer for the facts of his political life.

It was altogether a failure. He entered the House of Commons as a reformer both in Church and State, and his *début* as a debater was most successful. But that very success was his ruin. It raised his natural self-satisfaction to a height which soon became unbearable. His "demands upon the homage and patience of the House were excessive. . . . He became a glutton, a very horse-leech in his importunity for highly-seasoned compliments to his erudition, and humble submission to the authority of his quoted records."⁴ The House soon got tired of him. Members began to laugh at him. "The Speaker resented his perpetual interference in trifles. Marten and Strode subjected him to their rough horse-play," and he himself became terrified at their strong measures. He sank back into the shade, lost his interest in the proceedings of the House, resumed his antiquarian studies, purchased coins, amassed MSS., and dreamt of proceeding with his contemplated historical works. He was excluded from the House by Colonel Pride and the army in December, 1648, and died on the 18th April, 1650. There are several monuments to members of his family in Stowlangtoft Church, but none to himself.⁵ He raised

³ Rushworth ii., part 2, p. 1204.

⁴ Ed. Rev., *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ A mistake upon this subject in the

early editions of Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller* has been corrected in the last edition, p. 306.

monuments to others, but no one raised a monument to him.

His MSS. were purchased by Lord Oxford, and now constitute an important part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. His autobiography has been published, and several writers have used his notes of the Long Parliament, but there is a great mass of valuable matter in them which still remains unpublished. More than twenty years ago the Edinburgh Reviewer to whom we have alluded made an appeal for their publication. That appeal has still to be reiterated, and may be made in the words of the Reviewer. "There is not a man of any parliamentary importance during that memorable period whose character they do not strikingly illustrate. Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, Strode, Marten—all the leaders without exception— . . . are here brought before us times out of number—in their very habits as they lived—and with a reality which we seek in vain in any of the other memorials of that period. A man of D'Ewes's character would of course chronicle many things which it would have been well to let die ; but in spite of his trifling, and his verbose semi-legal phraseology, and his prejudices, which were violent, he has written down on these blotted sheets facts and circumstances which, if published, would do more towards making known the real history of the times, and the characters and motives of the men who overturned the monarchy, than any publication yet given to the world."

ANTIQUITIES OF BRONZE FOUND IN DEVONSHIRE.

Notices Supplementary to a Memoir by Mr. CHARLES TUCKER, F.S.A. (Archæological Journal, vol. xxiv.)

IN a former volume of this Journal, some account was given of certain weapons and relics of bronze that have been brought to light in Devon, including some types of comparatively rare occurrence, and stone moulds for their fabrication.¹ A few additional facts have subsequently been brought under our notice, that appear of sufficient interest to be deserving of record in connection with the earlier vestiges of the Danmonii.

It had appeared somewhat remarkable that in the district in question, presenting such abundant evidence of extensive early occupation in the very numerous entrenchments that crown the hills in all parts of the county, the traces also of ancient industry and primitive habitations, in Dartmoor and other places, so few examples should have occurred of those objects of bronze, most frequently obtained in almost every part of the British islands, the celt and the palstave. Of the various types that elsewhere have often been brought to light in such profusion, we were enabled only to enumerate in the previous memoir some twelve or fifteen specimens as having hitherto been found in Devonshire. The same observation applied to the adjacent county of Cornwall, in which likewise the strongholds upon the heights or elsewhere, the numerous megalithic monuments, the mysterious subterranean refuges and remains of very ancient habitations, the traces also of extensive metallurgical operations at a very remote period, with many minor relics of pre-historic times, present numerous traces of a very extensive and busy population. In Cornwall, however, as in Devon, so far as we are aware, the specimens of that "*crux antiquariorum*," the celt of bronze, had been comparatively of uncommon occur-

¹ Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv. p. 119.

rence. It is probable that there were some relics of that class in the deposit noticed by Leland, who states that "there were found of late yeres syns Spere Heddes, Axis for Warre, and Swerdes of Coper wrappid up in lynid² scant perishid, nere the Mount in S. Hilaries Paroch in Tynne Works."³ There were also several socketed celts in the remarkable hoard at Karn-Brê, with which, as we are assured by Borlase, several Roman coins were found in 1744.⁴ Other Cornish examples might doubtless be enumerated.

The comparative rarity of these weapons or instruments in the two counties of the extreme south-western parts of Britain, the district with which relations of commercial intercourse were, as supposed, prevalent in early times, appeared deserving of consideration.

Since the publication, however, of the notices of antiquities of bronze in Devon, formerly given, the discovery of a large hoard of celts, palstaves, or other implements of that metal, has been made known to us through the courtesy of a local archæologist, Mr. Orlando Hutchinson, to whose researches in the neighbourhood of Sidmouth we have repeatedly been indebted. Some particulars relating to this find have also been made known by the Rev. Richard Kirwan of Gittisham, whose explorations of certain barrows on Broad Down near Honiton have revealed sepulchral relics of singular rarity and interest, especially an unique one-handled cup formed of bituminous shale, an object of special interest as having unquestionably been formed on the lathe.⁵ The neighbourhood abounds with objects of antiquarian interest, such as entrenched works and barrows: of the latter Mr. Kirwan has noticed more than forty, upon the tract of high ground where the burial-mounds that he has examined are situated. Many, however, it is believed, had been destroyed, and doubtless there are others concealed by the gorse and heather by which the high ground is covered. Near the south end of Broad Down, and about six miles north-east of

² Sic, probably for linen?

³ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. iii. p. 17. Camden states that the discovery occurred in digging for tin.

⁴ Borlase, *Antiqu. of Cornwall*, p. 28, and pl. xxiv., where two of the celts are figured. They appear to have been unusually fine specimens; the sockets perfectly square. One of these celts measured

six inches in length.

⁵ See Mr. Kirwan's memoir on barrows excavated by him near Honiton in 1868, with representations of some highly curious objects there discovered. *Trans. Devon. Association*, vol. ii. p. 619. It has been reproduced also, with some abridgment, in this *Journal*. See vol. xxv., p. 296.

Sidmouth, not far distant from the striking earthwork known as Blackbury Castle, there was a mound described as a "stone barrow," on a farm called Lovehayne, belonging to the feoffees of the poor's lands of Colyton, by whom, upwards of a century ago, permission was given to cut a trench through the mound. In the course of this operation, according to Mr. Hutchinson's statement, a large hoard of bronze relics were brought to light, on the south side, "enough to fill a wheelbarrow." They were conveyed to the neighbouring town of Honiton and sold as old metal; four appear to have been preserved by the late General Lee of Ebford, near Topsham, by whom the circumstance was entered at the time in his diary.⁶ These, however, have been scattered and lost; one of them remained at Ebford as recently as 1864, when it was seen there by a local antiquary, Mr. Heineken of Sidmouth, but it is no longer to be found. One of the relics thus brought to light at Lovehayne came into the possession of Mr. Snook of Colyton, one of the feoffees; it is now in the possession of his grandson, a surgeon, residing there. A cast in lead from this relic, which is a palstave of ordinary fashion, and without any side-loop, was made by Mr. Hutchinson, and sent, by his obliging permission, for the inspection of the Institute. It is here figured.⁷ (See woodcut, fig. 1.) It should be observed that the irregularities of surface and slight defects, and also rough seams at the sides produced by the original mould where the junction of its two moieties occurred, have been reproduced exactly in Mr. Hutchinson's casting. They seem to suggest that the implement had not been trimmed up or finished after casting, or that it may have been rejected as somewhat defective and laid aside, as in so many like deposits of broken or imperfect implements, to be melted again for subsequent uses. This supposition seems to be confirmed by General Lee's memoranda, above mentioned, at the time when the find occurred. He notes that about "a hundred Roman chisels for cutting stone" were found, "rough as they came from

⁶ This contemporary notice is as follows:—July, 1768, "The laborers on the new Turnpike to procure stones on Lovehayne farm, Colyton par., belonging to Colyton poor, found about 100 Roman chisels for cutting stone, of a metal between a copper and a brass color, rough as they came from the mould and unhardened. I procured four of them." For this information we are indebted to

the kindness of Mr. Heineken, of Sidmouth. The precise spot is to the west of Lovehayne, about midway between the farm house and Rakeway Bridge, immediately to the south of Broad Down.

⁷ A drawing of this palstave was sent to the Archaeological Association by Mr. Hutchinson. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1862, pp. 57, 261.

the mould and unhardened," and observes that the Romans had a method of hardening their metal to a degree at least equal to steel.

The quantity of celts and palstaves, as doubtless the "Roman chisels" in question were, has been variously stated; after the lapse of a century local traditions are always subject to exaggeration. The find was mentioned by the late Mr. Davidson, who has left valuable contributions to West Country topography and archaeology; he estimates the deposit of "bronze spear-heads" as amounting to half a wheelbarrow full.⁸ Whatever may have been the precise quantity, the hoard was unusually large, and I fully agree with Mr. Kirwan that it may have been most probably one of those remarkable deposits buried for temporary concealment by some manufacturer, perhaps an "itinerant," of bronze weapons and implements.

In 1861, the remains of the mound in the flank of which those large deposits of metal implements, unique so far as we are aware in the Western Counties, had been brought to light, were totally removed by the tenant of Lovehayne, for the sake of flints that were required for farm-buildings. The destruction was watched carefully by Mr. Hutchinson and by Mr. Heineken. The barrow measured 70 ft. in diameter; its height was about 6 ft.; it consisted of a heap of angular flints, covered by a considerable accumulation of earth, about 4 ft. in depth; in this the deposit of celts had been found. Under the flints, in the centre of the hillock, and on the natural surface of the ground, or rather sunk slightly beneath it, lay fragments of a very rude urn with a quantity of fragments of calcined bones; amongst these were two portions of the jaw of an adult, the moiety of the lower jaw of a child, fragments of a cranium, with other remains, and one or two flint chippings, possibly rude arrow-heads. Portions of three different urns were found in this remarkable burial-mound.⁹

⁸ Davidson, *Notes on the Antiquities of Devon*, p. 73.

⁹ See a more full account in Mr. Hutchinson's memoir on *Hill-fortresses and tumuli of Eastern Devon*, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1862, p. 57. The mound is there described as situated in a field called "Stone-burrow Plot," three quarters of a mile west of Blackbury

Castle, a singular work of which a plan is given *ibid.*, pl. 4. Mr. Davidson, in his *Notes on the Antiquities of Devon*, p. 71, has noticed a barrow of unusual size on the lower part of Broad Down, opened Sept., 1859. It had been partly disturbed, a broken cinerary urn and some rude arrow-heads of flint were found on that occasion.

ANTIQUITIES OF BRONZE FOUND IN DEVONSHIRE.

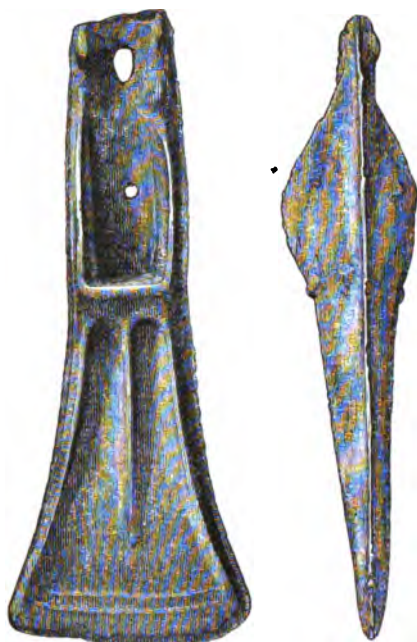


Fig. 1. Palstave found at Lovehayne, near Broad Down, Devon. Length, 5½ inches.



Fig. 2. Socketed Celt, obtained at Honiton. Length, 4½ inches.

Early in the last year, whilst engaged in completing his account of the explorations on Broad Down, Mr. Kirwan chanced to mention to a bookseller at Honiton the hoard of celts found at Lovehayne, and the tradition that they had been brought into that town and melted as old metal. To his surprise, the person with whom he was conversing placed in his hands a bronze celt, enquiring whether the buried treasures were of that fashion? It had been purchased about ten years since at an auction in Honiton, and had belonged to a Mr. Farquharson, a collector of such objects. Although there is no evidence that would connect this object with the hoard above described, it is very possible that it may, as Mr. Kirwan is disposed to believe, have formed part of that find, and, having been rescued from the melting-pot, have remained in Honiton until given recently to him. In any case, the probability that it had been found in the neighbourhood of that town, surrounded as it is by hill-fortresses and other early vestiges, gives to this relic thus fortunately obtained by Mr. Kirwan, no slight interest. (See woodcut, fig. 2.) It is a socketed celt, of ordinary type, somewhat roughly fashioned, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, and about 3 in. across the cutting edge, which has been much hammered. The surface is rough and oxydised; the socket is of square form; its mouth is ragged and irregular, not having been trimmed, the rough projecting seams at the sides also seem to show that the implement had been left in an unfinished state after it was taken from the mould.

On a subsequent occasion a bronze palstave was obtained by Mr. Kirwan, that had been picked up, as stated, on or near the road towards Farway, and at no great distance from Broad Down. It measures $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length; there is no side-loop; it has the usual stop-ridge, and slight projections at the sides where the loop frequently occurs. It is a fair example of a type that is by no means uncommon.

Very recently Mr. Kirwan saw, at Beer, near Seaton, a shapeless fragment of bronze, of about the size of the moiety of an egg. It had been found by a labouring man not much below the surface, whilst turning over his potatoe-ground. It appeared to be a fragment of some object cast in a mould, one end showing signs of fracture; the object was in too fragmentary a condition to justify any conjecture in regard to the use or form of the object in its perfect state.

Two bronze celts, as I was informed by Mr. Charles Tucker, were in the possession of Mr. J. C. Wilcocks, of Duryard Park House, on the road from Exeter to Crediton, who states that they had been bought, with armour and other relics, at Taunton by his agent, at the sale of the effects of Dr. Short, a collector of antiquities, and that they had been found in a barrow in that neighbourhood. Mr. Tucker, however, imagines that Taunton had by some inadvertent error been named instead of Honiton, and that the celts may have been obtained at the last-named town, having been probably part of the large find that had occurred at the Lovehayne barrow, as before related. They are, as he assures me, palstaves of the usual fashion, with the stop-ridge.

A few other finds of bronze relics in Devon may be cited. Mr. W. T. Shortt, in his notices of Druidical remains and ancient camps in that county, notices an entrenched work in Moreton called Morebarton, where a large cairn or barrow was opened about 1840, that inclosed a cist formed of six great stones, containing calcined bones, "a spear head of copper," two rivets by which it had been attached to its haft, a glass bead, and a small amulet of stone.¹ He mentions also a bronze celt found at Christow, and a spear of copper, double edged, 30 in. in length, near Crockernwell and the cromlech at Drewsteignton, on an estate called Honiford.² This last, if correctly described, must have been a remarkable specimen. In Ireland spears of unusual dimensions occur; one figured in the *Horæ Ferales*, measures as much as 26½ in. in length, but no spear of so great a length has occurred in England. It is by no means improbable that the "double-edged spear" described by Mr. Shortt may have been one of the long taper blades, such as were formerly noticed as found on the estates of Sir John Kennaway, Bart., near Talaton.³

At Ingsdon, in the parish of Ilsington, near Ashburton, where there are many barrows, also stream-works for tin and other ancient vestiges of occupation, a bronze celt was dug up, as stated by the late Mr. Davidson, in his notice on the Antiquities of Devon, p. 53.

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua Dunmonia*, p. 29. The relics were carefully preserved by the tenant, Mr. Wills. This camp seems to have been known as Wooston Castle, and is near the banks of the river Teign.

² *Ibid.*, Additions. p. 97.

³ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxiv. p. 110. The longest of the blades there figured had measured in its perfect state about 25 inches only in length.

In a cairn adjoining Sidbury Castle, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Sidmouth, a remarkable entrenchment, supposed by Baxter to be the *Tidertis* of Ravennas, it is reported, as we learn from Mr. Orlando Hutchinson, an antiquary known through his indefatigable researches in that part of Devon, that some "golden swords" were formerly found. It is well known that bronze, under certain conditions of the soil, assumes a bright and almost golden appearance. The hillock has been known as the "Treasury," or "Money Heap."⁴ The tradition of a discovery of such precious treasure recalls the remarkable privilege granted by Edward II., in 1324, to Robert Beupel, authorising him to search and dig "in sex collibus," and elsewhere in Devon, where it had been alleged that treasure lay concealed. The condition was imposed that the search should be made in daylight, and in the presence of the sheriff and other officers.⁵ The result of this excavation has not been recorded, and we have sought in vain to ascertain the position of the Six Barrows.

Two palstaves, as I am informed, were also found in a field near Sub Hill, between Rockbeare and Clyst St. Lawrence, one of them some sixteen years since; it came into the hands of a person who used it for the purpose of curing wens and other affections of the neck. I learn that for some years he travelled about,—even beyond the limits of the county,—the efficacy of the object being held in great esteem, so much so, that it was sent for by sufferers from distant places in the West. It was known, according to popular belief, as a "thunderbolt." Mr. Kirwan obtained some particulars regarding this curious point of "folk lore" from Mr. Patten, of the Southbrook Farm, on which the holder of the talisman at one time lived. It is now, as alleged, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Honiton. Of the other, found about 1860 on the Southbrook estate, Mr. Kirwan has sent me a drawing: it is a palstave, without any side-loop, much oxydised, and presenting no unusual feature. Its length is $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. It has been presented by Mr. Patten to the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter.

⁴ Memoir on Hill-fortresses, &c., of Eastern Devon, Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. 1862, p. 59. Many notices of local antiquities are given in the Sidmouth Guide by Mr. Orlando Hutchinson, to whose

courtesy we have repeatedly been indebted for valuable information.

⁵ Pat. Roll. 17 Edw. II. This curious document is given by Mr. Kirwan, Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. ii. p. 621.

I am indebted to Mr. William Harris, of Plumley, Bovey Tracey, through the request of the Rev. Richard Kirwan, for a notice of a discovery, about 1830, near his residence. In blasting some granite boulders in a field adjoining the house,—supposed, as he states, to be the site of a Roman encampment,—the workmen found eight bronze celts, placed on their ends, under two of the rocks or boulders, four under each. The spot is about three miles higher up the valley than that where the stone moulds for taper blades of metal were found, as related in a former volume of this Journal.⁶ There existed at Plumley six adjacent stone circles, the remains possibly of a British village; they were, however, removed for building purposes. Mr. Harris sent one of the celts to the British Museum; he gave three others to particular friends, retaining four specimens, which appear, by sketches that he has sent to me, to be palstaves of usual types. One of them has no side-loop; in one specimen the loop has been broken off, but traces of it remain; the other two have the loops perfect. These palstaves measure about 6 to 6½ in. in length.⁷

Of a more recent and remarkable discovery of implements of bronze in Devonshire, on the estates of the Duke of Bedford, I have been favored with particulars by Mr. Hastings Russell, M.P. My acknowledgments are also due to that gentleman for the friendly courtesy with which he permitted, on my request, the exhibition of that group of bronze relics, of unusual types, at the meeting of the British Association at Exeter, and also at one of the meetings of the Institute. By his kindness they are here published. They present the most valuable and instructive examples of relics of their class hitherto brought to light in Devonshire.

On October 24, 1868, a labourer engaged in removing rock from the base of a limestone ridge in the parish of Plymstock, about a mile east of Oreston, in the Catwater, Plymouth Sound, and in a field named "Rocky Parks," found a flat stone, at a depth of about 2 ft. below the surface. This slab weighing, as supposed, between three and four cwt., leaned against the natural rock, and when removed, there appeared, piled upon a ledge of the rock,

⁶ Arch. Journ., vol. ix. pp. 185, 186.

⁷ These objects were exhibited, as Mr. Harris observes, at the meeting of the British Archaeological Association at Exeter in 1861.



Bronze celts, weapons, and a chisel found near Preston, in the parish of Plymstock, on the estates of the Duke of Bedford, K.G.

(Scale, half original size.)

sixteen bronze celts, three daggers, a two-edged weapon of somewhat rare type, and a mortice-chisel.⁸

The celts are all of the same type, which is sufficiently shown by the two examples figured; it is comparatively uncommon, and had not, so far as I am aware, occurred in Devonshire. They vary in length from $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. to a little over $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; in every instance there are wings or flanges, that in some have a considerable projection, brought with great precision to a sharp edge; the central stop-ridge is in all extremely slight, in fact, scarcely perceptible, and indicating only the point where the thickest part of the celt occurs, from which the metal decreases gradually in thickness, wedge-like, towards either extremity, terminating at each in a sharp edge. The blade is semicircular at the cutting edge, and the other extremity is neatly rounded off. At this part a peculiarity occurs, to which attention has never been called, as I believe, in any notices of objects of this class. Around the edge of this semicircular end may be perceived, in the majority of the celts composing this interesting group, a slight groove, more or less regularly marked, extending only as far as the commencement of the lateral flanges. It might be imagined that this narrow end of the celt had originally, when produced from the mould, been slightly bifid, and that the little cleft had been closed up by the hammer, leaving, in most instances, the shallow-grooved line that I have endeavoured to describe. Mr. Franks is disposed to think that such may have been the cause of this peculiarity. I have thus minutely noticed it, because in our imperfect knowledge of the technical processes employed in casting celts and other objects of bronze, that mostly show considerable skill in the operation, it appears desirable to invite attention to details, however apparently trifling, that may suggest the clue to further information.⁹ The sides of the celts under consideration are shaped,

⁸ I may here take occasion to record a find of ancient remains, although not accompanied by any object of bronze, but of which Mr. Hastings Russell had the kindness to send me a note with the above particulars of the discovery at Plymstock. On Nov. 10, 1863, the Duke of Bedford's gardener at Endsleigh, Edward Cornelius, in clearing some rock in the "Dairy Dell," in ground disturbed by the fall of overhanging rock, found two human

skeletons lying "heads and tails," one on the back, the other on the side. No object accompanied the deposit. At a lower level of 8 ft. the same person found on the floor of a supposed "rock-shelter" some bones and teeth of large animals, with a small flint implement.

⁹ This slight marginal groove occurs in two or three celts of this type in the British Museum, especially in one from the Isle of Wight. I recall only one

possibly by the hammer, to three longitudinal facets, occurring in the greater part of the specimens found at Plymstock; in a few of them, however, the sides are simply rounded. In all, the general symmetry of form and neat finish in every part indicate more than ordinary perfection in manufacture.

A few other celts of this type may be cited; it appears to have occurred mostly in the southern parts of England: some examples are elaborately ornamented with engraved chevron patterns, as in one found near Lewes, exhibited at our Chichester meeting by the late Sir Henry Shiffner.¹

In the series of bronze celts in the British Museum there are many varieties of the type with lateral flanges and slight stopridge; one, of small dimensions (length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is marked —“Devon, 1832,” possibly that before-mentioned as found at Bovey Tracey and presented to the Museum by Mr. William Harris. See p. 346, *ante*. Four celts of this type were found in the Isle of Wight, at Arreton Down, of which two are in the National Collection.² There are also four found at Poslingford, Suffolk, as related in the *Archæologia*.³

With the sixteen celts there were found at Plymstock three thin bronze blades, of which one is here represented (Fig. 3). These objects, which occur in great variety of fashion and dimensions, especially in Ireland, are usually considered to have been daggers; the smaller varieties may have been used as knives for all ordinary purposes. Mr. Franks has given, in the *Horæ Ferales*, an ample series, in which the fashion of hafting, so far as it can be ascertained, is well illustrated.⁴ The examples, however, found in the British Islands, rarely present any remains of the handles, which were doubtless of perishable materials. Sir R. Colt

other instance of a similar feature in our bronze castings of Celtic date, namely, around the upper margin of some of the mysterious spoon-shaped objects described in this volume, p. 63, *ante*, and *Arch. Cambr.*, third series, vol. viii. p. 208.

¹ Figured *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xviii., p. 167, and *Transactions of the Chichester Meeting*, p. 62. Another like example, found at Liss, near Petersfield, is in the British Museum; the sides are formed with three facets, and striated with diagonal strokes apparently produced by the hammer; the stop-ridge is very slight.

² The Irish specimens of this type are mostly much decorated by the graver and by hammered work. See Sir W. R. Wilde's *Catalogue of the Museum of the R. I. Academy*, pp. 379, 390.

³ Vol. xxxi. p. 497, where some are figured.

⁴ *Horæ Ferales*, pl. vii. p. 155. See many notices of Irish relics of this description, *Catal. Mus. R. I. A.*, *ut supra*, pp. 462, 486; a large number also in Continental collections are figured by Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer uns. heidn. Vorzeit I.*, Heft. II., taf. 4; Heft VI., taf. 2, &c.

Hoare brought to light many daggers in barrows in Wiltshire; they have been figured in his *Ancient Wilts.*⁵ They are the most remarkable objects of bronze that have occurred in sepulchral deposits. The attachment to the handle was mostly by two or four strong broad-headed rivets passing through the edge of the broad extremity, where the plate is so thin and the rivet-holes mostly so close to the margin that it is difficult to comprehend how any secure attachment could be effected. The specimens found at Plymstock measure, in their present damaged condition, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, 5 inches, and 4 inches respectively; the breadth of the blade at the widest part is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. One specimen has a slightly raised mid-rib, skilfully finished, and giving considerable strength to the blade.⁶

With these was brought to light a bronze weapon of more rare occurrence (Fig. 4). It is unfortunately somewhat imperfect. The blade in this type terminated in a strong tang, in this instance partly broken off; the weapon in its present state measures $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The extremity of the tang in some instances was perforated for a rivet. It is somewhat doubtful whether such blades may have been attached by the tang to long hafts as spear-heads, or have served as dagger-blades. The handle was probably prevented from splitting by a ferule fitting round the blade. About 1735, ten specimens were found on Arreton Down, in the Isle of Wight, accompanied by celts of the same type as those at Plymstock, and also dagger-blades, of which three examples occurred there.⁷ Of the weapons with tangs six may be seen in the British Museum, from the Sloane Collection, of which five were found, as above stated, in the Isle of Wight, and one in the River Lea. There are also two from the collection of Mr. Whincopp, stated to have been found in Suffolk, one of them at Hintlesham. These specimens are rather larger than that found in Devon, and measure nearly

⁵ Vol. i., pl. xiv., xv., xxiii., and xxviii. See also Akerman's *Archæol. Index*, pl. iv., v. Two examples found on Arreton Down, Isle of Wight, are figured in Mr. Franks' *Memoir*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 329.

⁶ A remarkable example of the dagger occurred with the instrument in a barrow at Hove, near Brighton, accompanied by a one-handed cup of amber, a stone axe

perforated for hafting, and a small hone. *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiii. p. 188. The blade measured $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., greatest breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. See in this volume, p. 246, *ante*, a small dagger found near Caernarvon, with a tang for hafting.

⁷ The particulars of the find were given by Mr. Lort, *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 113; the various relics are figured by Mr. Franks, *ibid.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 328.

8 inches to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. A single example is known with a socket in place of the tang.

The objects of this fashion seem to be peculiar to Southern England. No example has occurred, as I believe, on the Continent. The late Mr. Kemble found none in North German museums. They may have served for war, for the chase, or even domestic purposes; and may have served for all three. As Mr. Franks observes:—"They must belong to that vast and obscure portion of our history unrelieved by any written records, when wave after wave of different tribes and even races scattered their spent remains over these shores, and sought here their most distant scene of adventure, or their last refuge from continental oppression."⁸

With the relics that have been described, which may possibly be classed more properly with ancient weapons, there occurred one, so far as I am aware, unique—doubtless of purely mechanical use. This is a bronze mortice-chisel (Fig. 5). It measures 4 inches in length; the cutting edge is somewhat more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch in breadth. Of the few bronze objects of the period may be noticed gouges, which are comparatively common, formed with sockets;⁹ chisels also with a curved cutting-edge have repeatedly occurred, especially in Ireland.¹ Of those last named, many specimens are formed with a tang for hafting. The mortice-chisel, formed with a socket, has been found in England, although of considerable rarity; a specimen found at Romford, Essex, is figured in this Journal;² one, from the South of Italy, was obtained by Mr. Franks from Signor Castellani. It is of stouter dimensions than the implement of similar class from Devonshire; the length is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the socket is square, a double bead-moulding runs round that extremity, neatly formed, and giving solidity to the hafting.

It is scarcely needful to point out the interest of any relic that may throw light on the mechanical arts in the earlier

⁸ Ibid., p. 331.

⁹ See several examples, *Horæ Ferales*, pl. v.; Duncoyer, notice of Celts and Celt-moulds, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. iv., pl. iii.; and specimens of a large variety, vol. vi. p. 332.

¹ Ibid., pl. ii.; *Horæ Ferales*, *ut supra*; Wilde, *Catal. Roy. Irish Acad.*, p. 521.

See an unique chisel, with pierced lateral appendages, found at Pitcur, in Scotland; *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 377.

² *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ix. p. 303. Compare numerous socketed varieties, *Archæologia*, vol. v., pl. viii.; Lindenschmit, *Alterth. uns. heidn. Vorzeit II. Band v. taf. 1.*

periods. The discovery brought before us, through the kindness of Mr. Hastings Russell, is of special value on account of the combination that it presents of a rare object of that class with bronze weapons likewise of uncommon types. In closing these observations on vestiges of the early occupants of Devonshire, I may advert to the remarkable suggestion by the most sagacious of Northern archaeologists, Worsaae, that certain large hoards of bronze implements, which have repeatedly been brought to light under masses of rock, in some instances deposited in regular arrangement, may have been an offertory homage to the deities, or votive, as is imagined to have been the intention of vast deposits of weapons and relics of every description that occur in lakes or in turbaries in Scandinavia. Many large deposits of bronze relics under ponderous stones have occurred in the British Islands, that may have been of the like votive character. It will suffice to notice the hoard of weapons found in 1688 under a rock in Bethgeleert parish, Carnarvonshire; another like discovery of a quantity of celts placed heads and points, near Diganwy, or Gannoc, on the river Conway, Denbighshire;³ and a third, near Alnwick, where, in quarrying stones for the Castle in 1726, a great hoard of celts, swords, and spear-heads was brought to light.⁴

It is with gratification that we are enabled to state that, through the liberality of the Duke of Bedford, the greater portion of the relics found on his property at Plymstock have been presented to the British Museum. This addition to the National Collection is regarded by Mr. Franks as of special importance and interest, because all the specimens, as he observes, are evidently finished, and the objects may have actually been in use. They are not, as most frequently to be noticed in similar deposits of bronze, rejected castings or unfinished pieces. A few of these curious implements have also been deposited, by desire of his Grace, in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter.

ALBERT WAY.

³ Camden's Brit. ed. Gough, vol. iii. pp. 185, 192.

⁴ Archæologia. vol. v. p. 113. Bibl. Topogr. Brit., vol. ii., part 3. This

find included 20 swords, 16 spears, and 42 celts; none of these unfortunately are now known to exist.

ON A PORTRAIT SUPPOSED TO BE OF DANTE AT VERONA.

By JOHN GREEN WALLER.

THE portrait, of which an engraving is here given, and which I presume to be that of Dante, occurs amongst some decaying frescoes on the north wall of the Pelligrini Chapel, in the Church of S. Anastasia, in Verona. It has long been known to Italian antiquaries that, here were portraits of members of the Alighieri and Bevilacqua families, but it has not yet been mentioned that among them was that of the great poet of Italy.

The figure is kneeling, with hands joined in prayer, at the feet of a saint, apparently one of the Apostles, but without any distinguishing emblem; the right hand of the latter touches the head. The frescoes are much defaced, and a bracketed monument to the memory of Nicolo de Cavalis, 1390, apparently cuts into them. The style of the work is certainly Giottesque; but, at the time I saw it, I was not able to pronounce it to be by the hand of Giotto himself, as my memory of his style was not sufficiently fresh, and I had not then seen his works at Padua.

Contemporary portraits of Dante are few, as a matter of course—for portraiture, in Italian art, is said to have begun with Giotto, and many occur in his numerous works. The artist was the warm friend of the poet, whom he often introduced, in various ways, in his paintings. One formerly existed in the Church of S. Croce, at Florence; and that in the Chapel of the Palace of the Podesta, now called the Bargello, was discovered in 1840,—mainly through our countryman, Mr. Kirkup. This is now well known.¹ But there is also a head, pointed out as that of Dante, amongst a group of the Blessed Spirits in the Last Judgment, in the

¹ Engraved by the Arundel Society, but more correctly by Mr. Kirkup.



Portrait supposed to be of Dante.

Fresco, possibly by Giotto, in the Pellegrini Chapel in the Church of
S. Anastasia, Verona.

(From a drawing by Mr. John Green Waller.)

Chapel of S. Maria dell' Annunziata, at Padua. It is probable, that Giotto's portraits of the poet are the only ones that were contemporary, although there were others taken by some of the early Italian painters.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances of Dante's life, Verona was not an unlikely place to find some such memorial of his person. It was one of the first cities that gave him protection after his expulsion from Florence ; and he has not failed, in the "Divina Commedia," to record a grateful recollection of the kind reception he received from the Podesta of the great family of Della Scala. The passage is remarkable, and has given rise to much disquisition, in order to correctly identify the individuals spoken of. It is not necessary here to enter into it, for the commentators have now proved, that the name of the first member of the family who received Dante must have been Bartolomeo,² whose character fully warrants the description ; and the youth associated with him must have been Francesco, afterwards known as Can Grande, the most eminent of all the Della Scala family, and to whom Dante dedicated his "Paradiso." The passage is in Canto xvii. of the last division mentioned, and stands thus :—

"Lo primo tuo refugio, e'l primo ostello
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo
Che 'n su la Scala porta il santo uccello ;
Ch' avrà in te sì benigno riguardo
Che del fare e del chieder tra voi due
Fia prima quel che tra gli altri è piu tardo,
Con lui vedrai colui che impresso fue
Nascendo, sì da questa stella forte,
Che notabili fier l' opere sue.
Non se ne sono ancor le genti accorte
Ver la novella età ; che pur nove anni
Son queste ruote intorno di lui torte."

Thus well Englished by Wright :—

"The first retreat—first refuge from despair,
Shall be the mighty Lombards' courtesy,
Whose arms the eagle on a ladder bear.
His looks on thee so kindly shall be cast,

² Foscolo has shown that dates of events in Dante's life will not admit of the "Alberto" of Boccaccio, nor of the "Alboino" of other writers. The tomb

shown at Verona as that of the latter, with the arms—a ladder surmounted by an eagle—is attributed entirely without evidence.

That asking and conceding shall change place ;
And that, wont first to be, 'twixt you be last.
With him shall one be found, who, at his birth,
Was by this ardent star so fraught with grace
His deeds of valour shall display his worth.
Not yet his greatness by the world is seen,
So tender is his age : for scarce nine years
Around him whirling have their circles been."

On the death of Bartolomeo, in 1304, Dante left Verona, and did not return until after his friend Faggiolano, the Podesta of Lucca, was driven out by a conspiracy, April 10, 1316, when he placed himself under the protection of Can Grande, before alluded to. Now it was in this year that, Vasari tells us, Giotto went to Padua, at the instance of the Signor of Della Scala, for whom he painted a most beautiful chapel ; and afterwards to Verona, where, "in the palace of Messer Cane, he painted some pictures, and particularly the portrait of that prince." It will therefore be seen by a comparison of dates, that both the painter and his friend the poet were at one and the same time guests of the great Lombard prince, Francesco della Scala, commonly called Can Grande, *i. e.* Great Dog, a singular title of honour, much affected by members of this family. The palace of the Podesta, now the hotel of "Le Due Torri," occupies the south side of the piazza in which the church of S. Anastasia stands. This noble church, one of the finest of its kind in Italy, was begun in 1260, and was not completed for nearly a century—indeed the west front was never finished. But according to custom, the east end of a church, consisting of the choir and its adjacent parts, was constructed first, so that divine service could be performed as soon as possible. This is the history of all the large mediæval churches, and the early date of some of the monuments in the Pelligrini Chapel show that this part was erected with the earlier portions of the church. Thus then, as far as dates are concerned, there is nothing to prevent this portrait from being contemporary, and possibly even by Giotto, or painted under his direction.

It must also be recollected that one of Dante's sons settled in Verona ; and the family of Alighieri have (as I understood from the Sacristan) still descendants in that city. So that there are many reasons for the possibility

of finding here an early personal memorial at least, even if not quite of a contemporary character. The evidence must, however, be in the portrait itself, which quite bears out the description of him given by Boccaccio, and is also in accord with the fresco now remaining in the Bargello at Florence. Like the latter, it is a profile; so also is that at Padua, to which I have before alluded.

Boccaccio says :—"His face was long, an aquiline nose, eyes rather large than small, the jaws large, and the under lip rather advanced beyond that above. His colour brown; hair and beard thick, black and crisp. His countenance always melancholy and thoughtful. By which circumstance it happened one day, at Verona—the fame of his works being already divulged throughout the city, and chiefly that part intitled 'Inferno,' and he being well known by many men and women, passing before a door where many ladies were seated, one of them softly—but not so much so but by him and those that were with him it was heard—said to the others: 'Do you see him that goes to hell and returns when he pleases, and here, above, tells us news of those that are below?' To which one answered simply,—'Indeed you say truly: see you not how crisp his beard is, and his colour brown, with the heat and smoke that is down there?' Which words hearing spoken behind him, and knowing that they came out of pure belief of the women, pleased him; and, as if content that they should remain in that opinion, sighing a little, he passed on."

Now, the portrait in the Bargello was painted in 1290, when Dante was twenty-five years old, and about the time of the death of Beatrice Portinari, his early love. But this could not be taken—if by Giotto—before 1317, when he was fifty-two, and, although it has a great agreement with the other, it possesses just those differences which age gives. The delicate outlines of youth are no longer there; but the same general character is preserved: and, as regards the accessories of costume, it accords with that he is said to have worn, and with that exhibited in the portrait at the Bargello.

Whether, however, the portrait is by Giotto, or by one of his scholars, there can be very little doubt but that it represents the great Tuscan poet, and that it was probably contemporary. It makes thus the third extant, all of which

were painted at different periods of his life ; that at Padua being probably of about the middle time, between the two others. I must here add, that my sketch was hasty, and does not do justice to the original work. It may suffice, however, to invite attention to so interesting a memorial of the poet, and relic of early art.

The portraits of Dante are many ; but with the exception of the above mentioned, by Giotto, they were painted after his death. Andrea Castagno painted his portrait in the house of the Carducci, afterwards that of the Pandolfini. Lorenzo, a Camaldolese monk, and the scholar of Taddeo Gaddi, painted the portrait of Dante, as well as that of Petrarch, in the Chapel of the Ardinghelli, within the Church of the Holy Trinity, about 1370. These were at Florence. Raffaele has introduced Dante into "The Dispute of the Sacrament." There is a portrait by Giovanni Bellini, in the Public Library at Verona. One, of the fifteenth century, exists in a MS. of the "Divina Commedia," by one Niccolo Claricini, an advocate of Cividale, in Friuli,—in the Clericini Library of which town it is still preserved. It is said to differ from other authorities. There are also others, but which do not call for particular record.

Original Documents.

LEASE OF A FISH-POOL AT LAPWORTH, WARWICKSHIRE. 3 EDWARD III. A.D. 1329.

Communicated by JOSEPH BURTT, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records.

THE following document is derived from the miscellaneous stores of the Public Record Office, formerly in the Chapter House of Westminster. Into that building—now rising afresh, as it were, from the dust and neglect of by-gone years—were drafted the contents of the Royal Treasury in the reign of James I. An important portion of those contents were the title-deeds of property scattered all over the country which had at any time come into the hands of the Crown, by purchase, exchange, escheat, or forfeiture. The exact action of the Crown in respect of some of the lands to which many such documents refer, is not now-a-days quite apparent—the lapse of time having probably broken some of the links in the chain of evidence. And a distribution of many of those deeds under a county arrangement, many years ago, has contributed much to the difficulty of tracing the transactions by which they found place among the evidences of the Crown—while it has facilitated their application to topographical purposes. Among the private deeds relating to the county of Warwick, are many concerning the family of Bisshopesdon, who are not known to have done anything to have brought their title-deeds into the Royal Treasury, unless it may have been on account of the office which it will be seen one of them held. Very little, however, is known of the family. It appears, from Dugdale, that in the reign of Edward II., Henry de Brandeston conveyed the manor of Lapworth to Sir John de Bisshopesdon. The documents formerly in the Royal Treasury relate chiefly to the Manor of Lapworth, in connection with this Sir John de Bisshopesdon. Some years ago I brought to the notice of my friend, Mr. T. Hudson Turner, a contract for the building of the manor-house of Lapworth, between Sir John de Bisshopesdon and two masons, in the year 1314. Mr. Turner at once saw the importance of the document as an illustration of the domestic architecture of the country. He printed it entire, and minutely described and commented upon the structure covenanted to be erected by virtue of its provisions. These comments will be found at pp. 5—8 of the second volume of “Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages.” In the same small parcel of deeds is the document now brought to notice. It is an Indenture, setting out the conditions of a letting of the fishery at Lapworth, from the 12th of March, 1329, to the morrow of the close of Easter in the same year, the 31st April, a period of seven weeks, to the following effect :—

“Indenture witnessing the covenants between Sir John de Bisshopes-

don of the one part, and John de Pesham of Rowhinton and William de Charindon of the other part.

"The said Sir John has granted and sold to the said John and William all the fishing in his great fish-pool of Lapworth from the feast of St. Gregory (March 12) in the third year of King Edward III. to the morrow of the Close of Easter following, without any breach being made in the banks of the said pool, for 20 marks sterling, of which half is to be paid on the Sunday after St. Ambrose (April 4) and the remainder on Friday in Easter week. Reserving to the said Sir John four couples of pike, bream and tench,—two of the best, and two of the second [size] of each,—and two dozen couples of perch and roach—half of the best, and half of the second [size] for the stock of the said fish-pool. And saving also to the said Sir John daily one pike or great pikerel and a bream, one great eel and four small ones and one dozen of perch and roach for his table, to the said Morrow of the Close of Easter. And saving to the said Sir John all the pikerels not above 12 inches and all bream under 7, all tench under 6, and perch and roach under 3 inches, which shall remain for the stock of the said fish-pool. And the said John and William grant to Sir John that he may have one of his men to survey the fishery and the take and sale of the fish, and to keep the money received for the same—which money shall be put into a box under their seals until the said Sir John shall be paid the money aforesaid. And if it happen (which God forbid) that they do not receive profit enough, Sir John will release them a mark of the sum agreed on. And if the said John and William keep the covenants of this Indenture their bond for £40, in the keeping of the said Sir John, shall be void—if not, it shall be of full force."

The term of this lease includes nearly the whole of the period of Lent, Ash-Wednesday being in that year on March 8, which will account for the careful reservation of fish for the table of the knight. It is remarkable how much attention was given in mediæval times to fresh-water fish. Besides its being greatly in request for the table on days when flesh diet was forbidden, it is evident from old household accounts and bills of fare that fish formed a large item in the daily dietary; and we have lists of the provision for the table in royal and other households that present a very large amount and variety of fish as every-day fare. In an early volume of the *Archæologia* there is a long Breviate for the provision of a nobleman's table, giving the quantities of fish for each day.

The difficulty of obtaining fresh sea-fish was very great. Salt fish was the best alternative. And across East Anglia there was a straight cut, called the Peddar's Way, along which the itinerant fishmongers carried their supplies in *peds* or panniers, probably from Lynn to the populous districts of Norfolk and Suffolk.¹

The due consideration of this document, which may not be an unwelcome contribution to our knowledge of mediæval domestic economy, presents some difficulties when we come to trace the history of the Manor of Lapworth, and its possessors. The parish of Lapworth, in Warwickshire, is situated about four miles to the north of Henley in Arden, and nearly nine to the north-west of Warwick, on the road from that town towards Birmingham. This district of the county was anciently watered by various tributaries of the Avon, that now serve to feed the important

¹ Prompt. Parvulorum, p. 389; s. v. Peddare.

lines of canal traffic which meet the Avon at Warwick and at Stratford. According to Dugdale, in the reign of Edward III. (anno 11—A.D. 1336—37), Sir John de Bisshopesdon granted a lease of the manor to Hugh de Brandeston for forty years. The contract for building the manorial hall, which I have already adverted to, in 1314, and this lease of the fish-pool in 1329, would seem to show a residence by the Bisshopesdon family upon the property nearly up to the time of the lease of the manor. My attempts to clear up this little history have been much aided by our obliging friend, Mr. M. Holbeche Bloxam, F.S.A., whose minute investigations of all ancient evidences connected with the history of his county are so well known. Henry Pipard held the manor of Lapworth in the reign of Henry III., and left issue two daughters, co-heiresses, by one of whom a moiety of the manor came to the family of Bisshopesdon. The further history of the manor may be left for the future consideration of those interested in Warwickshire genealogies; my immediate purpose being simply to place before our readers a document of somewhat peculiar character and interest. By an entry upon the Patent Roll, 32 Edw. III., it appears that John de Bisshopesdon was appointed to the important office (not however regarded so highly then as in modern times) of Chancellor of the Royal Exchequer; and to that circumstance it may be due that the private muniments of the family are found among those of his royal master.

The fish-pool of Lapworth formerly, as we learn from the subjoined document, of considerable extent and importance, appears to have been situated, as represented in Beighton's Map of Warwickshire, from a Survey made in 1725, between Lapworth Hall and the church of the parish of that name. In Sharp's Map of the County, from a Survey made between 1787 and 1789, the pool of Lapworth does not appear. Mr. Bloxam suggests that it had been drained in the cutting of the Stratford Canal, in the last century. This is exceedingly probable, since the canal, as laid down by Sharp, would pass through the pool at Lapworth, or very near to it.

Cest endenture tesmoyne les covenans fetz entre monsieur Johan de Bisschopesdon de une parte, et Johan de Pesham de Rowhinton et William de Charindon de autre parte. Ceo est asaver que le dyt Sir Johan ad grantez et venduz a lez ditz Johan et William tote le peschen de son graunt viver de Lappeworthe a pescher et a prendre de la feste Seint Gregore en lan du regne le Roy Edward tyerz apres le conqueste tyrz taunqe a lendemayn de la Cluse Pasche prochain ensuaunt, saunz nule breusure faire sur lestaunke, pur xx. mars desterlings, a paier la une moyte le dymaynge prochain apres la feste Seynt Ambrose prochain apres la confection de ceste escrit, et lautre moyte le Vendredy en la simayne de Pasche prochain ensuaunt al dyt monsieur Johan ou a ces executours a son Maner de Lappeworth. Sauve al dyt sire Johan quatre couples de luz, les deuz couples dez meylours et les deuz del secounde, quatre couples de bremes, lez deuz couples de meilours et lez autres del secound, quatre couples de tenches, les deuz couples de meylours et lez autres del secound, et deuz dozeings de couples de perches et de roches, dount la une moyte dez meylours et lez autres del secound, queux demorront pour lestor del dyt viver. Et sauve al dyt Sire Johan de jour en jour apres que le viver comense a coure un luz ou groz pykerel et une breme, un

gros anguyl, et quatre menes, et une dozeyne de perches et de roches pour sa vyaunde, taunqe a lendemayn de la Cluse Pasche avaunt dyt. Et sauve al dyt Sire Johan touz lez pikerels qe ne passunt xij. pouz, et touz le bremes que ne passunt vij. pouz, et tenches que ne passunt vj. pouz, et perches et roches que ne passunt iij. pouz, queux demorrunt por lestor del dit viver cumme avaunt dyt est. Et lez dytes Johan et William grauntent a Sire Johan que il eyt un homme de seon a sourver la pescherie et la prise de pessun et la vente, et destre gardeyn de les deners que il rescceyverunt pour le dyt pessun, queux deners serrunt mys en une boyste desouz lur seals, tanqe le dyt Sire Johan seit parpaie et a rescceyvere leztor pour le dyt viver, cumme est avaunt dyt. Et si avyne, que Deu defent, que il neyount pour gayn soffisaunt, cumme porra estre teysmoyne, le dyt Sire Johan relerra j. mark dez xx. mars avaunt dyte. Et si avyne que les ditz Johan et William tygnent les covenans avantdyts, et qe fassent la paie de xx. mars avantdytz a jour avantdytz, a dounce lescrip de xl. liveres que demoert en la garde Sire Johan, seit en qui mayns qe il deveygne, seit pur nul tenuz et de nul force. Et sil defaillont en nul des poynz avaunt dytes, ou de la paie de xx. mars cumme est surdit as jours avaunt dytes, a donce le dyt escrit de xl. livers en le quel lez dytz Johan et William sont obliges al dyt monsieur Johan estoyse en sa force. En tesmonyance de qele chose les parties entrechaunchablement ount mys lor seells par ces teymoynes, Thomas de Baddeleye, Johan de Middelmor, Robert de Roudyche, Robert le Mareschal, Johan de la Lee, Henry le Smyth, Johan atte Lone, et aliis.

Two small round seals attached, chipped ; each about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch across. On one are the figures of two birds, rudely cut ; the figure in the centre of the other is not distinguishable, and a letter or two only of the legends are readable.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

July 2, 1869.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., Pres. R.I.A.,
President, in the Chair.

THE REV. GREVILLE J. CHESTER gave some account of the implements of shell and other material from the West India islands, which he exhibited. This essay will be given in a subsequent number of the Journal.

Major-Gen. LEFROY, R.A., referring to a photograph upon the table said,—“I have the pleasure of exhibiting a photograph from a fresco painting which is to be seen in the Convent of Lacceto, near Siena, and for which I am indebted to the Director of the Museum of Artillery at Turin, Captain Angelo Angelucci. The circumstance which renders this fresco remarkable is, that we have represented in it a combat, in which hand-guns (*schioppi*) are used on both sides, while in the foreground a bombard, of 10 or 12 in. calibre, is seen directed against a castle. The reproduction of this remarkable subject bears the following title :—“*Fac simile redotto al terzo del vero di un Affresco dipinto da ignoto Sinese, nel 1343, nel Portico della chiese del gia convento di Lacceto presso Siena, ed esequito da Cæsare Cantigalliæ Raffaello Scardigli, nel 1864.*” Captain Angelucci informs me that the artist was Paolo-di-Neri. In a register of the convent that has been preserved there are entries of expenditure, from 1317 to 1373, in the building and decorations of the church. Amongst these occurs the payment, in June, 1343, to Paolo, who painted the portico at his own risk, 16 *lir.* 12 *b.* There is no other *portico* than that in which the fresco is to be seen. Before the book from which this entry is cited was found, the painting had passed as the work of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, an artist who was contemporary with Paolo, the tradition being consistent with the date thus assigned. That date, it will be remembered, is three years before the battle of Cressy, and there is, I believe, no other known representation in paintings or illuminated MSS. of any description of artillery before the next century.¹ We naturally, therefore, scrutinize the picture narrowly to find internal evidences of date, and for several reasons they appear inconsistent with that assigned. It will be observed that, among the

¹ See in Sir Sibbald Scott's *History of the British Army*, vol. ii. p. 217, a design of 1410 from MS. Cott.

many knights or soldiers in the fresco, there is not one who appears to be clad in chain armour, and there are many in unmistakably plate armour. It is said, indeed, that plate armour was employed in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century, but it cannot have been common, much less universal, so long before its use in the west. It is, moreover, remarkable that the figure of a soldier shooting with a gun from the top of a tower is almost exactly like a cut from Valturius de re Militari, 1472, reproduced by Lieut.-Colonel Jervis White Jervis.² There the character of the bombard is inconsistent with the infancy of construction. It is fully 4 ft. long, and of a fashion identical with much later examples, for instance, the bombard from Bodiam Castle, Sussex, now at Woolwich, and engraved in Sir Sibbald Scott's work.³ But there is with this one indication of extremely early date. In a document at Ravenna, of the year 1358, there occurs an entry of the price paid, "*pro uno mantigheto causâ accendendi ignem pro faciendo trahere bombardas*."⁴ *Mantigheto* would appear to be a sort of portable grate, such as plumbers still use; and here we have it in the still ruder form of a fire beside the bombard.

"As regards the artist to whom the frescoes at Lecceto has been ascribed, I am informed by Mr. George Scharf that his paintings at that place are noticed in the History of Italian Painting by Crowe and Cavalcaselli, and mention of works occurs between 1343 and 1382.⁵ Paolo appears to have been a pupil of the Lorenzetti. The frescoes are described as being merely painted in "*chiaro 'scuro*." At first sight of the photograph, Mr. Scharf observes that he was reminded of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, dating 1372—1485. In these the armour seems to be made up partly from classic examples in sculpture, and partly from details in use at the period. The large round-topped shield seen in the photograph is common in the earlier 1370 examples, and the *pteruges* or tassets hang from the waist of most of the soldiers. These last, and some other details, would doubtless appear to be referable to the fifteenth century, according to examples of military costume in England; but the difference of period at which innovations in dress and armour were adopted in different countries claims very careful consideration."

The noble PRESIDENT gave a discourse "On Megalithic Antiquities in France and Spain." His interest in the early antiquities of Southern Europe was excited a few years ago by having been taken to see some Druidical remains when at Pau. They consisted of two circles of stones, one of which was most remarkable from the veneration with which it was regarded. It was on a shoulder of one of the mountains, surrounded by noble chestnut trees, the stones forming it were small, and it was called by a name which signified "spring of the fairies," because close to it rose a favorite stream which grew into a river. This circle was almost worshipped by the peasants, and the waters of the adjoining spring were considered to be very efficacious in diseases. About a mile away were eight or ten small circles of similar construction, but of bad repute, being fre-

² Our Engines of War, 1859, p. 14.

³ History of the British Army, vol. ii. p. 216.

⁴ Documenti Inediti, p. 69.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 147. The authorities quoted are the *Lettere e Documenti Senese di Della Valle* and *Milanese*.

quented by *loup-garoux* and evil spirits. A fine cromlech close by had been accidentally revealed by robbers about fifty years ago. It had been covered by a *cairn* or heap of stones; the robbers heard that there was probably a treasure concealed, and in seeking for it they laid bare the cromlech.

In Spain the science of Archæology was not in a backward state; all its branches were well followed out, numismatics especially. The local museums containing archæological objects were, however, very rare,—a “*museo*” ordinarily meaning only a picture-gallery. Spain had neglected her opportunities, but was now exerting herself. There were many good archæologists in the country. The best local museum was that of Tarragona, and at Madrid there were many very curious things. Great interest had been excited by the subject of pre-historic antiquities, and it had taken great hold on the popular mind there as well as on the educated. Celts of bronze are of common occurrence in Spain, also palstaves, of which examples occur with two side-loops, similar in that respect to the Irish specimen in his own possession, and which he (Lord Talbot) had the pleasure, in 1852, to bring to the notice of the Institute. He proceeded to describe certain rudely sculptured figures of animals in granite, and of great antiquity, still to be seen in their original position, and measuring about 8 feet in height. They are known as “*toros di Gizandos*,” or “*orzos*” (bears). Near Seville he had examined ancient structures resembling the so-called “*Picts’ Houses*” of North Britain, also the remains of a remarkable sepulchral chamber; the construction is of dry masonry, without any use of mortar. Tarnaco, the modern Tarragona, presents features of very great interest: it is situated on a high hill, the walls are of polygonal structure, their base probably of very early date. In the centre of the town there is a Roman circus, having underneath it a well with masonry considered to be of Iberian character. The Romans constructed an aqueduct for the supply of the city,⁶ but during the siege by the French under Marshal Suchet, in 1811, the aqueduct having been cut off, the inhabitants bethought them of the ancient well, which proved to be full of excellent water.

The ancient remains in Andalusia had been specially described in a valuable work by Signor de Gongora. About twenty years since the extraordinary cavern known as “*The Cave of the Bats*” was discovered. Within it, as it has been affirmed, were found twenty or thirty human bodies, with their garments, arms, and implements of the Stone Period, all, even a basket, in good preservation. A crown was also here brought to light. There are several dolmens in Spain, Lord Talbot observed, inscribed with characters that, as the learned assert, are neither Punic nor Iberian.

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER alluded to the supposition that the “*Toros*” may have been land-marks. He suggested that the earliest portions of the highly curious walls of Tarragona are possibly the work of the Phœnicians, who had a maritime settlement there called “*Tarchon*.” The masonry may be described as Cyclopean.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., expressed his high sense of the value and interest of the information with which they had been favored by the noble President. It had been sometimes asserted, even by good

⁶ An elevation and section of this fine work may be seen in Fergusson's *Hand-book of Architecture*, vol. I. p. 364.

authorities, that Spain possesses, with the exception of its architectural monuments, comparatively few objects of archaeological importance, especially of the pre-historic and earlier periods. On behalf of the Society he was desirous to express to Lord Talbot their most hearty acknowledgments of his kindness in bringing before the Institute the first-fruits of his recent explorations in southern Europe.

Mr. G. BOHN directed notice to six pictures of sacred subjects, by Masacio and other early masters, exhibited by him.

Mr. OLDFIELD gave an account of the works lately undertaken in Westminster Abbey for repairing and cleaning the monuments of Henry VII. and his Queen, and of his mother the Countess of Richmond; works that have been misunderstood and even misrepresented. He explained that a small and carefully selected committee had decided upon the necessity of measures being taken to arrest dilapidation of the monuments from defects of structure, and on their being cleaned by some innocuous detergents. Of these operations he gave a detailed report, and maintained their propriety both on archaeological and artistic grounds. (On this very interesting subject we hope shortly to be favored with a somewhat extended memoir by Mr. Oldfield.)

The DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, who now occupied the chair in consequence of the departure of Lord Talbot, thought the result quite justified the operations upon the tomb of Margaret Beaufort. Great care had been taken, and many beauties in a fine work of art had been displayed, for the first time, to the present generation. It was consoling to have the support of Her Majesty's Chief Commissioner of Public Works and the Committee acting with him to share the responsibility of these proceedings.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK gave some "Observations on Ecclesiastical Symbolism exemplified in an Orphrey of English Needlework lately exhibited by Miss Maitland." This fine piece of embroidery is full of most curious symbolism, from beginning to end. Canon Rock's dissertation on this remarkable and early specimen of needlework will be given in a future volume.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—A collection of ancient stone and shell implements, &c., from the West Indies; a small painting (on copper) of the Crucifixion, from Florence; and a small bronze bust of Faustina the Elder as Juno, of the Roman period, found at Milan; Anglo-Saxon sword discovered, with silver coins, at Reepham, Norfolk.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A.—Two paintings. 1. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, who is attended by sixteen angels. A picture in tempera or panel, painted by Taddeo Gaddi. This work was exhibited at Manchester in 1857, and is alluded to by Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., as "showing in the features and costume of the Virgin the type of Giotto, only with a much greater amount of finish and delicacy." (Handbook to the Paintings by Ancient Masters in the Art Treasures Exhibition, p. 12.)—2. The Blessed Virgin holding the Infant, clothed, on her lap. Two angels hold a crown over her head, and an angel, in adoration, floats on each side of her and the divine child, who is in the act of benediction. A small picture in tempera or panel, painted by

Taddeo di Bartolo. This painting is praised by Professor Waagen, as "possessing all the charm of the master." (Treasures of Art in Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 462.) It was formerly in the collection of Mr. Dawson Turner.

By Mr. H. B. MACKESON of Hythe.—A Chinese seal, of red steatite, found a few months since in digging in a cottage garden at Hythe. It is much larger than the well-known type of Chinese seals found in considerable numbers in Ireland, the impress measuring an inch in each direction. Only one specimen of such seals of porcelain had hitherto been found in England, and it is singular that it was found in Cornwall, a country with which, in early times, the Irish had much intercourse. (Arch. Jour. vol. vii. p. 403.) Doubtless the example found at Hythe, which is of later date than the porcelain seals found in Ireland, is a genuine relic of mediæval trading between that ancient Cinque Port and the east. (See in Arch. Jour. vol. vii. p. 407, a review of Mr. Getty's "Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland" and a discussion of the curious problem involved in the discovery of those objects in that country.)

By Major-General LEFROY, R.A.—A photograph of a fresco in the convent of Lacceto, near Vienna, executed in 1343 by Paolo-di-Neri, and presenting some details of remarkable interest, as showing the use of hand-guns and artillery at that early period. This photograph had been lately received from Captain Angelo Angelucci, director of the Museum of Artillery at Turin. Also a copy of the first volume of a valuable work on Military Antiquities by that distinguished officer, who has devoted much attention to the origin and progressive improvements in artillery and other subjects of curious research. His "Monumenti Inediti" in course of publication will comprise much valuable information from sources in Italy hitherto unexplored.

By Mrs. ALEXANDER KER.—Eleven photographs; scenes of special interest in various cities of Germany.

By Mr. JOHN HENDERSON, F.S.A.—A series of plates of the rare Rhodian ware. This *faience* was probably made at Lindus or Lindo in the island of Rhodes, about the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth. A jug of this choice ware, in possession of Mr. Sambrook, has on the silver mounting the hall-mark of the year 1596. There is also in the china-closet at Ham House a jug with a hall-mark of the close of the sixteenth century. In the Musée Céramique at Sèvres also there is a painted copy of a Rhodian plate with the date, about 1610. It is supposed to be Venetian. Mr. Henderson has a similar plate, but without date. The designs or decorations of this ware are in Persian taste, and may have been executed by Persian artists. Amongst the specimens exhibited there were some dove-colored and faun colored plates, which are regarded as of somewhat unusual occurrence. The red color used in the ornamentation is, on the Rhodian ware, embossed, distinguishing it, in this particular, from other oriental pottery.

ANNUAL MEETING AT BURY ST. EDMUNDS, 1869.

July 20 to 27.

THE Annual Meeting of the Institute was undertaken under the presidency of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bristol, with the cordial encouragement of the Suffolk Archæological Society under the distinguished guidance of the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, its President, and the most friendly co-operation of the Mayor and Corporation. It happened very unfortunately that the condition of political affairs was such that on the opening day of the Meeting no Peer of Parliament could well be absent from his post in the House of Lords. It was a most anxious time for all interested in the Meeting of the Institute, and as the hour for commencing proceedings approached, it became certain that neither the President of the Meeting nor the President of the Institute would be able to attend. A most friendly feeling, however, existed in all quarters to do the best under all the circumstances, and Lord John Hervey most kindly undertaking to act for his brother, the Marquis of Bristol, Mr. Charles Tucker, one of the Trustees of the Institute and Director of the Museum, officiated for Lord Talbot, the President of the Institute. The Mayor and municipal authorities in their official robes, &c., assembled in the library to give a reception to Lord John Hervey, representing the noble Chairman of the Meeting, and the Ven. and Right Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, President of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology; and, being accompanied by some of the leading members of the Institute, they entered the Town-hall.

Mr. TUCKER, having explained that the absence of Lord Talbot de Malahide was owing to his presence being required in the House of Lords, expressed the pleasure felt by the Institute in visiting the ancient town of Bury St. Edmunds, and hoped that their endeavours to illustrate the science of Archæology would contribute to the interest and information of their hearers.

The Mayor (George Thompson, Esq.) then called upon the Town Clerk to read the Address which had been voted to the Institute.

“To the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bury St. Edmunds, beg to offer you our cordial welcome to this our ancient Borough.

“The old town of St. Edmunds Bury possesses many objects of deep interest to the archæologist. When we walk through our beautiful Botanic Gardens and look upon the ruins still remaining, they tell of a state of past grandeur which awakens deep interest in the minds of all who know something and would know more of what for centuries made this town famous.

“One event of surpassing interest occurred here, of interest not only to the archæologist, but to every man and for all time. It was at St. Edmund's altar that the barons swore they would obtain from King John

the ratification of Magna Charta, a charter which became and for more than six centuries has remained the bulwark of England's liberties, and has resulted in England's greatness.

"It is impossible to leave this subject without some of the feeling which inspired the late learned Head-Master of our Bury School, when he wrote the beautiful lines following :—

"Six weary centuries have passed away;
 Palace and Abbey moulder in decay;
 Cold Death enshrouds the learned and the brave,—
 Langton, Fitz-Walter, slumber in the grave:
 But still we read, in deathless records, how
 The high-soul'd priest confirmed the barons' vow,
 And Freedom, unforgetful, still recites
 This second birthplace of our native rights.

"The town possesses many other objects of interest which will not escape the vigilance of the members of your Institute. The surrounding country abounds in objects deeply interesting and worthy of your attention, and will probably occupy it to the latest hour you have at your disposal.

"We highly appreciate the value of the investigations of the Institute, and we hope and believe that the result of your present visit will add to the valuable and interesting fund of information already obtained, and at the same time be attended with pleasure to the members we now have the honour to welcome amongst us.

"(Signed) GEORGE THOMPSON,
 Mayor."

"Bury St. Edmunds,
 June 20, 1869."

The Mayor, on his own behalf and that of the town and Corporation, gave the Institute a most cordial welcome.

Mr. TUCKER, having warmly responded to the Address of the Corporation and the welcome of the Mayor, called upon Lord John Hervey to occupy the chair as President of the Meeting in the place of the Marquis of Bristol, who, like Lord Talbot de Malahide, was detained in town by his parliamentary duties.

LORD JOHN HERVEY, on occupying the chair, said that, in doing so, he could only conjecture what his brother's wishes would be in such a position, and he would do his best to carry them out. He knew that it would have been a great pleasure to his brother to have been able to preside at that Meeting, and nothing but the most pressing necessity prevented his attendance. He thought no one would consider his brother had any right to be away from his place in the House of Lords at such an important crisis. In regard to the Meeting of the Institute, although, like many present, he had no special knowledge of the interesting science of archæology, he felt sure he could completely recognise its importance, and he was most glad to assist in carrying out the wishes of the Society as far as he was able to do so. In his brother's name he felt sure that he might offer a cordial welcome to the Institute on the part of the county of Suffolk, and he knew he was speaking on behalf of the inhabitants of Bury, when he said they were extremely

gratified to receive the visit of the Institute, and they would do all they could to make that visit as pleasant and instructive as possible.

The Ven. Lord ARTHUR HERVEY, in the name of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, was privileged to offer a most hearty welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute, and, taking a purely archæological standpoint, was cordially glad to see them amongst the south folk of the East Anglian tribe. In archæology, as in other sciences, they must obtain a great knowledge of details, and therefore he could not but hope that the visit of the Institute among them would excite in many a desire to acquire that detailed knowledge without which no science could make any real progress. He hoped that those who had come among them would not be disappointed at what they saw in that borough and in the county, of which it was the twin capital.

Mr. J. J. BEVAN heartily seconded the greeting of the President of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology. No bond united people more than the bond of a common pursuit, and this was especially the case as regarded the pursuit of Archæology, as it was not given to every one to read the past in stones.

The Rev. J. R. GREEN acknowledged the welcome of the Suffolk Institute on behalf of the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute. It was this sympathy on the part of local institutions which gave so much support and aid to the Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and it was by meetings like the present that they could test by the light of local facts the theories which had been set up. All must look with absorbing interest upon the spot in Bury St. Edmunds where the barons met and agreed to insist upon the ratification of the Great Charter of our liberties, and upon the grand monastic establishment whose ruins they would shortly visit, as illustrating most fully the religious feeling of early times, the political importance of those institutions, and the struggles that so often occurred between them and the rising municipalities of the Middle Ages. The history of Bury St. Edmunds presented a very remarkable example of those struggles, as he hoped to be permitted to tell them.

The Rev. F. R. CHAPMAN, Vicar of St. James', Bury, said it was entrusted to him, on the part of the clergy of the neighbourhood, to express the happiness with which they welcomed the Institute among them. He felt that they ought to appear rather as penitents, as having been entrusted with the care of monuments of ancient times, and as not having always used their authority sufficiently for their protection. He would venture, however, to promise that they would do better for the future, and he was quite sure the visit of the Institute would contribute very much to an improved state of things in that respect.

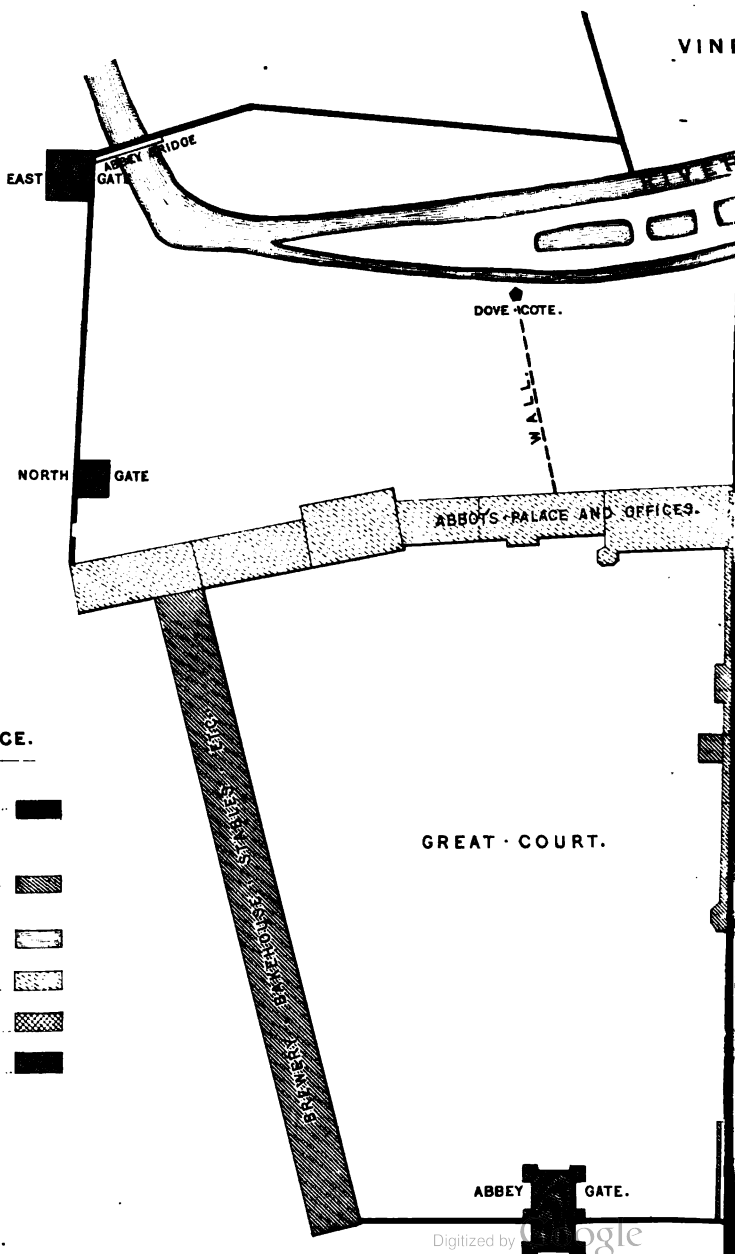
Mr. J. H. PARKER, in acknowledging the welcome of the clergy, said that as Mr. Chapman had promised to do better for the future, he thought absolution might be accorded. The great movement which had recently taken place for the restoration of old churches was a great boon to the country, and although many mistakes had been made before the principles of restoration had been properly understood, such mistakes were now getting very uncommon. Archæology was history in detail, but the details had to be supplied each in its separate place, and therefore the Institute heartily encouraged local societies. By means of the central body the knowledge collected in every county in the kingdom,

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

BURY · ST EDMUNDS · ABBEY

GENERAL PLAN.

Scale.



REFERENCE.

Abbey	}	
Church.			
Monastic	}	
Buildings.			
Cloisters.		
Abbots Palace.		
Churches.		
Gates &c.		

and in every country in the world, was brought into connection with local knowledge, and thus each assisted the other.

Sir CHARLES J. F. BUNBURY, Bart., in the name of the county gentlemen of Suffolk, heartily welcomed the visit of the Royal Archaeological Institute to their neighbourhood.

Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER, on behalf of the general body of members of the Institute, acknowledged the welcome expressed by Sir Charles Bunbury on behalf of the gentlemen of the county.

The Rev. EDWARD HILL then announced the proceedings for the day and for Wednesday, and after a vote of thanks to the Chairman the Meeting broke up.

Shortly afterwards the Members of the Institute, the visitors to the Meeting, and the Corporation of the town, were entertained by the Mayor at a *déjeuner* at the Angel Hotel. The cordial hospitality so kindly offered was almost in excess of the accommodation at the command of the establishment, but the temporary difficulty caused on that account was soon overcome by the management and obliging attentions of the host. The Mayor of Bury presided, having on his right hand the Hon. Lady Mary Phipps, Lord John Hervey, and the Mayor of Ipswich (E. Packard, Esq.); and on his left the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, Sir Charles and Lady Bunbury, and the Hon. and Rev. A. Phipps. The Town Clerk (W. Salmon, Esq.) occupied the vice-chair. The *déjeuner* was supplied in a manner that did great credit to the host, especially under the circumstances of the unexpected demand upon his resources by the large number of guests. At the conclusion of the repast, and after the usual loyal toasts, "Success to the Royal Archaeological Institute" was proposed by the Mayor of Bury in a short and effective speech. This was responded to by the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey in very eloquent terms. His Lordship concluded with proposing the health of the Mayor, which was drunk with acclamation. A short stroll through the temporary Museum, which had been installed in the very handsome assembly-room of the Athenæum, occupied the time till Mr. Parker's lecture upon the Abbey ruins commenced. Of the Museum some account will be given hereafter.

Just within the fine Norman gateway of the Abbey, surrounded by a large audience, Mr. PARKER began his discourse. From the point he occupied a view was obtained of a good portion of the Abbey, and a ground-plan on a large scale, of which a reduced copy is here given, assisted the lecturer in carrying his hearers along with him. The gateway, close to which the party was assembled, was the principal entrance to the Abbey, and was built about A.D. 1130. It used to be called "Saxon," but those things were better understood now. It was in a very bad state some years ago, but had been braced together in an ingenious manner by the late Mr. Cottingham. Turning their backs upon the gateway, they would be facing the great west front of the Abbey Church. Its singular appearance was caused by the ashlar with which it had been faced having been entirely stripped off and carried away,—in fact it was the stone quarry of Bury for more than a century. All that was left was rubble, which would not pay for carrying away. This rubble was of remarkable strength, as strong as concrete, and this was partly owing to the fact of the lime being used as soon as it was burnt, which prevented its crystallizing. The walls,

formed with a core of rubble, were also impervious to sound, and their great strength and durability could not have been better tested than those of Bury had been by their long exposure to the weather. The west front, Mr. Parker thought, originally consisted of three towers, one large and two smaller ones, extending the whole breadth of the nave and aisles. In an upper chamber of the central tower there would be a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael, and the two octagonal buildings at the end of the west front, which had been called chapels, were, in his opinion, two smaller towers. In front of the west end there had been a portico or arcade, which appeared to him to have extended along the whole front and round the corners. Evidences of such an arrangement exist at Lincoln and Peterborough.

Passing into a garden behind the Will Office, Mr. Parker pointed out the form of a Norman arch in the plaster,—the spot had probably been the site of a chapel which stood on the south side of the great tower. When in a garden behind a house occupied by Mrs. Greene, Mr. Parker said they were standing in the nave of the church, just inside the chapels, the house occupying the site of one of them. Looking down the garden they could trace the pillars of the aisles, and they saw the ruins of the great central tower, under which was the high altar to which the tower was a canopy. It was under this central tower that the great barons of the country met and swore to obtain the ratification of the Great Charter of the liberties of England, and the spot was on that account alone worthy of the regard of every one interested in his country's history. To this spot the company were next conducted. The choir, Mr. Parker said, stood beyond the great altar, and he might mention that the present arrangement of the priest officiating in front of the altar was not the usual one, as in the earliest times the priest stood behind the altar and officiated over it. In some of the smaller chapels the shrine of the saint was the altar, and there were simply steps cut behind for the priest.

Under the choir was a crypt, in which were a number of chapels; and in the centre of the churchyard were the remains of the chapel of the Charnel, a place to which they removed bones turned up in making fresh graves. The two churches of St. Mary and St. James originally stood in the transept of the church, but the monks, finding the presence of the townspeople inconvenient, built new churches for them within the Abbey precincts. From the site of the high altar, Mr. Parker pointed out the position of the cloisters, the refectory, offices, &c., of the Abbey. Several of these matters of detail were the subject of discussion among various members of the party. Proceeding to the Old Botanic Garden, the considerable remains of buildings at the south-east end of the precinct and apart from the church were examined and discussed. They had generally been thought to have been the prior's house; but by many they were considered to be the infirmary, and to that opinion Mr. Parker strongly inclined. Passing by the dove-cote on their way, the curious mural bridge over the Lark was visited. The bridge was of the thirteenth century; it had been strongly fortified, and could have been obstinately defended, as several of its arrangements plainly showed. In earlier times, when the river was a much larger stream than at present, the protection of the bridge was a matter of great importance.

Passing through the walls of the precinct by the ancient postern

gate, the party arrived at the entrance known as the "Abbey Gate." This is the magnificent gateway facing Angel Hill, a structure built about the middle of the fourteenth century by the inhabitants of Bury as a punishment for their destruction of the Abbey buildings in A.D. 1327, and one of the most beautiful things of the kind.

A visit was next made to Moysey's Hall, now used as the police-station. Mr. Parker considered this building to have originally consisted of three portions, one of which had been destroyed in making a new street. He thought the house had been the residence of a rich Jew in the twelfth century;—Jews' houses were the earliest examples of stone houses in the country. The windows had rather the appearance of those of a church from the exterior, but there were seats inside them, and he thought that fact conclusive as to the domestic character of the building. From this point the Guildhall was visited. The building is entered through an Early English arch, of good character, and in excellent preservation, with the dog-tooth moulding in fine condition,—a relic, doubtless, of the first building on the spot. The interior had certainly been often re-built or re-modelled, the oldest room at present existing being of the time of Henry VIII. After a short discourse upon the main features in the building, Mr. Parker's kind exertions were here brought to a close, and the party separated to examine other objects of interest in the town, or to rest after their perambulations.

The principal remains of the early domestic architecture of the town are the fine carved corner-posts which may be seen in the shops of Mr. Thompson, bookseller, and Mr. Crassweller, chemist, in Abbeygate Street; the house of Mr. Ridley in Eastgate Street, which is of the fifteenth century; and another house of that period in Mustowe Street. The Grammar School, in Northgate Street, is the first in point of time of the thirty schools founded by Edward VI. The present building was erected in 1664. The town was walled round in the twelfth century. There were five gates, which, with the walls, were destroyed in 1761. Slight remains of the East gate may be traced in Mustowe Street, and portion of the wall and ditch in the Tayfen Road.

In the evening a meeting of the Historical Section was held in the Guildhall, BECKFORD BEVAN, Esq., presiding in the absence of A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., President of the Section. The meeting was very well attended, including a considerable number of ladies. Mr. A. W. MORANT, F.S.A., read a paper on "The History and Construction of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds."

Having consulted every available source of information, and made a careful examination of the ruins, he thought there was but little opportunity for laying any new facts before the meeting; but he would try to bring forward the chief points of interest in the history of the Abbey, and recall its condition at the time of the Dissolution. St. Edmund, from whom the Abbey takes its name, was of royal Saxon descent, and was martyred by the Danes at Hoxne, A.D. 870. In the museum of the Institute is a portion of "St. Edmund's Oak," which fell down in 1848, with the iron cusp of an arrow imbedded in it, supposed to be one of those actually used against the martyr. The church at Beodricsworth or Bury first received the body of the martyr. A monastery was founded there in 945, and a new church was there consecrated in 1032 to his honour. On that occasion, Bishop Ailwin granted the monastery ex-

emption from all episcopal jurisdiction to the extent of a mile around it, and four crosses were erected by the monks to mark their boundary. Baldwin, the third Abbot, who was elected in 1065, rebuilt the church, of which many of the existing ruins were the remains. Large grants and privileges were now accorded to it by popes, kings, nobles, and commoners. The jurisdiction of the town was entirely under the authority of the Abbot, and frequent disputes arose between them, and often very serious riots. Other annoyances to the Abbey were the attempt of the East Anglian Bishop to remove the see to Bury, and of the Grey Friars to establish themselves there, both of which were frustrated. Many were the royal visits made to the famous shrine of St. Edmund, from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII. It was also the place of meeting of the nobles who were opposed to King John, and who, in 1214, assembled in the Abbey Church and swore to obtain from that sovereign the charter of Henry I., which was the basis of Magna Charta. Parliaments were held in Bury by Henry III., Edward I., and Henry VI. In the time of its prosperity, the Monastery contained within it a Lord Abbot, a Lord Prior, a Sub-Prior, a "Decanus Christianitatis," an Archdeacon of St. Edmund, who was Sacrist; 80 monks, 15 chaplains attendant on the Abbot and chief officers; about 40 clergy, who officiated in the several churches and chapels; and a free school for 40 boys. The revenues of the Abbot were equal to 52 knights' fees and three-fourths of a fee, and his jurisdiction extended over eight hundreds and a half. At the Dissolution there were taken away from the Abbey 5000 marks of gold and silver, besides vestments and jewels of great value; and the plate, bells, lead, timber, &c., yielded also 5000 marks.

Many noble persons were buried in the church of Bury St. Edmunds. Among them were Alan, Earl of Bretagne, and his wife, Constance, second daughter of William the Conqueror; Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, fifth son of Edward I.; Thomas Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, and his wife, Margaret; and Mary, sister of Henry VIII., Queen of France and wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

The Abbey precincts contained an area of about 23 acres, exclusive of the vineyard on the other side of the river Lark, which contained six acres, and the Walnut-tree Close, which contained three acres,—a total of 32 acres. The area of 23 acres was surrounded on the north-west and south sides by a high wall, strengthened with buttresses and provided with ravelins and embrasures. Standing upon the space called Angel Hill, a length of about 1100 feet of the boundary wall would be seen, with the Abbey Gate, the Norman Tower, and the west ends of the churches of St. James and St. Mary. [The writer then spoke in detail, and at great length, of the several portions of the structure, and occasionally compared them with the corresponding parts of similar establishments elsewhere.]

Several observations upon this memoir were made by the Chairman, and by members of the Institute; concluding with a vote of thanks for the communication.

The Rev. J. LEE-WARNER, Hon. Canon of Norwich, read some remarks on a "Petition of the Prior and Canons of Walsingham, Norfolk, to Elizabeth Lady of Clare," which he brought to the notice of the meeting. This petition was against the Lady Clare granting permission to the Franciscan Friars to settle in the neighbourhood of the petitioners, and

is highly illustrative of the religious differences and difficulties of the fourteenth century. The document has been already printed at p. 166 of this volume.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the writer, the meeting adjourned to the next evening.

Wednesday, July 21.

At 9.0 A.M. the excursionists mustered in strong force for the visit to Clare, Melford, and Lavenham. The sun came out brightly, and seemed to promise rather too warm a day for much fatigue. Passing through the most picturesque part of south-west Suffolk, the large party reached Clare Castle in good time, and were landed in the outer bailey of the once famous stronghold, the remains of which have been most ruthlessly cut about in all directions for the requirements of the railway. It is very greatly to be regretted that a slight *détour* had not been made at this spot, for the worst of the matter is, that railway stations grow, and any addition to the accommodation now furnished at Clare Castle station (a very probable contingency) would entail further destruction of a fine ruin associated with the memories of one of the greatest families in English history. It is true that we are indebted to the railway works for the very beautiful cross and chain which Her Majesty now possesses, and which, by her gracious permission, was exhibited in the Museum; but even such a result is paying dear for one's whistle. But we must resume. The owner of Clare Castle and Priory, the Rev. S. Jenner, courteously received the party on their arrival, and conducted them first over the site of the Priory. The chief remains have been transformed into a school-house, and many of the good architectural features which exist in almost every structure of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, were much hidden up or difficult of approach. The Priory Church is now a barn, and nothing in it shows the spot where Joan of Acre, the daughter of Edward I., was buried.¹ The Priory was a house of Friars Heremites of the order of St. Austin, said to have been founded there A.D. 1248 by Richard de Clare, who brought this class of mendicants into England.

After rambling over lawns and gardens in search of some one or other point of interest, the party were collected together, and Mr. JENNER read to them a few notes relating to the Castle and Priory, and in conclusion told how the railway authorities had over-ridden the understanding he had entered into for sparing the ruins.

Returning to the railway station for the purpose of reaching the Castle ruins, the route lay by the new road to the town, which had been cut through one of the great earth-works. It was in this work that the gold cross in possession of the Queen had been found. (See vol. xxv. p. 60.) Then the mound was reached on which now exist the few remains of the keep of the once famous Castle of the Honor of Clare. Probably the site had

¹ See Mrs. Green's *Lives of the Princesses of England*, vol. ii. p. 328, for an account of this impetuous lady, who seems to have had many characteristics of her Oriental origin. Mrs. Green reproduces, from Dugdale, a copy of a drawing representing a dialogue at the

tomb of the Countess Joan between a monk and a layman, in the reign of Edward III. The tomb is rudely drawn, and is shown as an oblong chest without a lid, and empty. The subject of the dialogue is the Countess Joan and her progeny.

first been occupied by the Britons, and there is little doubt it was a Saxon fort. Clare figures in the list of "Mounds incorporated into Castles of Masonry" in the able *Memoirs on Mediæval Military Architecture* lately contributed to the *Journal* by Mr. G. T. Clark.² Unfortunately the author was not present with the party visiting Clare to point out, in its present disfigured state, the *indicia* of its ancient strength and grandeur, or to recal to the memory of the visitors some of the distinguished deeds of its noble owners. It was warm work winding up the shrubby walk which climbs the mound on which stood the Keep, and the summit of which afforded an excellent view of the surrounding country, and of the quaint little town which had so long nestled under the strong wing of the fortress, and which seemed now to be exposed to the charge of ingratitude, by causing the very ruins of its ancient defender to perish by its requirements and its progress. In the walk to and from the church through this little town, some excellent bits of wood-carving and ornamental plaster-work over doorways, &c., and some good cellar vaultings, were seen. The church is a specimen of late fifteenth century work, with flat mouldings and great thinness of ornament. The clerestory, extending through the chancel, gave a light appearance to the interior, and at the west end there is a portion of an earlier church which had occupied the site. The carved oak screen of a chapel, on which are the initials M. R., excited some discussion. Passing to the outskirts of the town, a great number of the party visited the Roman camp, of which the enclosure is in very good condition, and the outline almost perfect.

Proceeding then by rail to Long Melford station, carriages were put in requisition for the visit to the church. This is a most interesting specimen of a good type of East Anglian churches, having all the characteristics of the fine style to which it belongs, the Early Perpendicular. Looking down the long nave from the chancel, and carrying the eye upwards to the carved timber roof, the corbels of which are carried by finely carved figures resting on the capitals of the pillars, the effect was excellent in every way. But the ancient glass in the church windows is perhaps its greatest glory. It gives representations of nearly all the noble families that have flourished in its neighbourhood at some eventful period of their history. Mr. ALMACK, to whom the present excellent condition of the glass is mainly owing, told its story with good effect, and also read some curious passages from the parish register relating to the church. The Clopton Chapel, with the quaint "Testimonie" of John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, inscribed on scrolls intermixed with the carved work of a running border in the angle of the roof, and several sepulchral brasses, were the objects of much attention. After an adjournment for lunch, the road was taken to Kentwell Hall. This is a Tudor mansion, formerly the residence of John Clopton, the great benefactor of the parish, and now the property of Capt. E. R. Starkie Bence. The house is full of vestiges of the state and importance of its earlier owners, and these were obligingly displayed and described by Capt. Bence and his family, who most courteously received the large party of visitors.

Melford Hall was the next point. It was one of the country houses of the abbots of Bury, and had been rebuilt, in excellent style, in the

² Vol. xxiv pp. 92, 319.

reign of Elizabeth. It is now enriched with modern furniture and *articles de luxe* captured a century ago by the ancestor of the present owner, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, from the Spaniards. The china vases and carved ivories so acquired are marvels. Mr. ALMACK obligingly told the story of the mansion—how the site was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir William Cordell, Bart., and how it had descended through the families of Savage, Rivers, again to the Cordells, to the family of Parker, who now possess it. While so pleasantly engaged in examining the stores of Melford Hall, the members of the Institute were delighted to find that their President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, accompanied by Lord Augustus Hervey, had joined them. In the pause in the political crisis in town, Lord Talbot had run down into Suffolk to attend, though only for a short time, in his place as President of the Institute. Before leaving Melford, Sir William Parker, Bart., hospitably entertained his visitors with a pleasant refection of fruit and “cups,” a fare that was highly appreciated on so warm and dusty a day.

From Melford, Lavenham was reached by the railway. Here is a splendid church, nobly situated, with a grand massive tower, and an open battlement extending the length of the nave, enriched with the insignia of the De Veres. All the good points of Melford Church (except only the glass) were here again seen, and on a richer and fuller scale, as the church is rather later in date and much larger. At the church the Institute was met by the Rector, the Rev. J. M. Croker. After an examination of the building the Rector gave an account of its restoration, which has been done in an excellent spirit, and of the remains of the earlier church and some sepulchral remains which were found during the progress of the works. The carved wood-work was very fine; some of it had evidently belonged to the earlier church. Mr. BLOXAM made several remarks upon the church, which he compared with that of Melford, and pointed out the variations between them. He thought they were two of the finest churches in England, and had come into Suffolk on purpose to see them. From the church a visit was paid to the rectory, where refreshments were provided and a very pleasant half hour was spent. Wandering over the little town on their way back to the station, some good specimens of domestic architecture were seen, especially the old Guildhall. Lavenham was at one time the seat of a considerable manufacture of cloth, and the existing remains of fifteenth and sixteenth century houses showed that the clothiers certainly appreciated wood-carving. In due time the party returned to Bury St. Edmunds.

An evening meeting of the Historical Section was held in the Guildhall at 8.30 P.M., EDWARD SMIRKE, Esq., in the Chair.

The Rev. J. R. GREEN read a memoir on “The Abbey and Town of Bury St. Edmunds.” We are liable (said the writer) in the study of archaeology to seek more the past that was dead than the past that was living around them. For that evening he should take as his subject a past which was still present. The Mayor of Bury was the representative of struggles by which their liberty was as really won as on the field of Runnymede. And if the greatest event in a national point of view, in the history of St. Edmundsbury, was the signing of the Great Charter within its walls, so the greatest event, in a municipal point of view, was the grant to the burgesses of the town of the charter of Abbot Sampson.

Of historic annals, in the strict sense, St. Edmundsbury had none ; but one book had the Monastery bequeathed them, and that one book was almost worth the chronicles of all the rest. In the wandering, gossiping pages of Jocelyn of Brakelond, the life of the twelfth century, so far as it penetrated abbey walls, lived and glowed round the figure of the shrewd, practical, kindly, imperious Abbot, who looks out, perhaps a little trvestied, from the *Past and Present* of Mr. Carlyle. That evening, however, he would ask them to look at a page of Jocelyn's book omitted by Mr. Carlyle, and see themselves face to face with municipal difficulties seven centuries ago. The page sets us in the beginning of Richard the First's reign, and relates Abbot Sampson's confirmation of the charter to the townsmen amidst the murmurs of the monks. Behind these murmurs lie centuries of quiet struggles for freedom on the part of the townsmen, and of unwilling concessions on the part of the clergy.

From the time of the Conquest, to all appearance, the town had been absolutely in the Abbot's hands. All privileges belonged to the Abbey and its occupants ; all duties and humiliating payments and services were the portion of the town. Quietly, unconsciously, in the interval between the Conquest and the reign of Henry II., much of this serfage slipped away. The town grew richer, and the fixed rent that once pressed heavily upon it grew lighter and lighter. Still, struggles of greater or less intensity were always occurring. It was in this state of things, and in the teeth of deep murmurings, that Abbot Sampson granted his final charter to the town. Out of the numerous charters granted to municipalities under somewhat similar circumstances, the Great Charter of the nation was born, and all the privileges and rights it bestowed had been long previously won by burgesses.

Half a century afterwards the democratic movement was surging at the Abbey gate. Riots, lawsuits, and royal commissions mark the troubled relations of town and Abbey under the first two Edwards. Under the third came the fierce conflict of 1327. The townsmen attacked the Abbey in the Abbot's absence, and a systematic plunder occurred. Chattels, valued at 10,000*l.*, disappeared, and no one dared be punished. At a whisper of retribution another onslaught was made, and the royal forces were obliged to be sent down to quell the riot and bring the townsmen again to obedience. Fifty years afterwards, Prior John was in charge of the house ; and he made himself deeply hated. It was a perilous time in which to win men's hate. England was racked with despair and suffering and wrong. In Norfolk and Suffolk, 50,000 peasants hoisted the standard of Jack Straw, and Kent had gathered round Wat Tyler. Prior John was attacked in his house at Mildenhall. After a mock trial by his own serfs, he was condemned and killed. His head was struck off and carried on a lance to Bury, where the heads of Cavendish, the Chief Justice, and of John Lakenheath, the Warder of the Abbey, were placed beside it. All knew how the great rising was put down. Nationally, the movement did much good ; to Bury it brought little but harm. A hundred years after the town again sought freedom in the law courts, and sought it in vain. This dull law suit was almost the last incident in the struggle,—the last and darkest for the town. But it was the darkness that goes before the dawn. Fifty years more both Abbot and Abbey were swept away, and the burghers were building their houses afresh with the carved ashlar and stately pillars of their

lords' houses. The completeness of the Bury demolitions results perhaps from the long serfdom of the town ; and the shapeless masses of rubble that alone recall the graceful cloister and the long-drawn aisle, may find their explanation in the story of a town's struggles which he had told them that night.

After a few remarks by Mr. Fairless Barber and others, the CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the meeting, thanked Mr. Green for his excellent paper, and alluded to the necessity which existed for a history of England in which the earlier struggles for liberty in the boroughs, of which so vivid an example had just been given, should be placed in their true light.

The meeting was then adjourned to ten o'clock the next day.

Thursday, July 22.

At nine o'clock A.M. the general meeting of members of the Institute was held in the Guildhall, J. STEPHENS, Esq., in the chair. The proceedings commenced by Mr. Burt (Hon. Sec.) reading the Balance Sheet for the past year. (See p. 409.)

Mr. C. TUCKER (Hon. Sec.) then read the Annual Report.

"It has been usual, at the period of the Annual Meeting of the Institute, for the Council to present to the members a Report of the circumstances affecting the Institute which have occurred during the preceding year.

"As regards the science of Archæology, the Council have no very remarkable considerations to advert to. The progress of its study has been steady and regular ; many important investigations have been judiciously carried on ; and the value of those investigations, and the importance of a careful attention to the facts elucidated by the study of Archæology, continue to be appreciated. The Council would refer to the Journal of the Institute in proof of these positions. One series of important investigations, which have been continued during the past year, has not hitherto been fully brought under our consideration, or discussed in the Journal. The laborious and energetic researches of the Rev. Canon Greenwell into the evidences existing among the sepulchral remains in the northern parts of our island, are the investigations here alluded to. The Council have the satisfaction of knowing, however, that the publication of the results of those investigations, in continuation of the valuable memoir formerly contributed to the Journal, has been only deferred with the intention of bringing them before the student of our Prehistoric Vestiges, with the well-considered statement of facts that the importance of the subject demands. Such investigations, so pursued and so worked out, spread over a considerable period ; and the detailed narrative of Mr. Greenwell's examination of the sepulchral antiquities of the northern counties cannot fail to form a most instructive and valuable contribution to archæological literature. At this Annual Meeting it had been the intention of that gentleman to have contributed an important memoir, upon a local subject, to the Section of Antiquities ; but some special circumstances of difficulty have prevented him.

"Upon the financial affairs of the Institute, the Council can report with great satisfaction. The heavy expenses which had been incurred in consequence of the removal from Burlington Gardens (at the expiration of

their lease) to far more convenient premises, have been entirely liquidated. The Council have to express their most grateful thanks to the members of the Institute for the liberality with which they responded to the call made upon them for that special occasion. Beyond the sum so collected, the total charge upon the general funds of the Institute for the past year has been only 27*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, as set out in the Balance Sheet. About 40*l.* have been received during the present year from the same source, and about 60*l.* (all that was due) paid on that account; the considerable charge upon the general funds by removal expenses during the year 1867 will, it is hoped, be covered by the continued extra contributions of those members who have kindly assented to the suggestion of Mr. Beresford Hope.

"During the last twelve months the Council have had occasion to effect a change in the office of Secretary and Librarian. Mr. Lodge has resigned the post, and the Council have acquired the services of Mr. Willsher, a gentleman long connected with literature, who now sedulously and carefully attends to the business of the Institute.

"The Council have to regret that the arrears in the issue of the Journal have not been entirely worked off. Those arrears are now, however, reduced to one number for last year—chiefly caused by delay on the part of contributors of articles appropriated to it,—and one number for the Midsummer of the present year. The Council have to express their earnest thanks to Mr. Way, who has assisted them materially in the endeavour to make amends for the inconvenience that had latterly arisen from unavoidable irregularity in the issue of the Journal, and which, it is hoped, may be effectually obviated by future arrangements.

"It is with deep regret that, in concluding their Annual Report, the Council have to advert to the numerous losses—including several most valued members of the Institute, numbered also amongst the earliest promoters of our efforts—that have occurred since the last Annual Assembly at Lancaster. Amongst those constant and ever-cordial friends, now no more, no one may more fully claim the hearty expression of esteem and affectionate remembrance than our late lamented Vice-President, Sir John Boileau. The warm interest that he felt in the promotion of historical and archaeological research has ever been shown in a most marked manner, not less in friendly participation in our proceedings and the annual gatherings, than in the establishment, in his own county, of an institution kindred to our own, that, under his auspices, has realised results of signal importance in the illustration and conservation of the ancient remains of East Anglia. Ever foremost in the encouragement of every scientific and beneficial purpose, his memory is endeared to all who were brought within the range of his influence, or who enjoyed the privilege of being numbered amongst his friends.

"Of those who participated in the earlier times of the archaeological movement, that during the last quarter of a century has taken so active a development throughout the length and breadth of the land, the honored name of the late Sir Henry Ellis—the Nestor of Historical and Antiquarian Science—may well claim the tribute of most hearty respect. We must bear in grateful remembrance the kindly courtesies shown on many occasions by our venerable friend, to whom, for so long a period, the promotion of all researches that tended to throw light on the Annals and National Monuments of our country was an object ever kept in view

with hearty sympathy and interest. There are indeed few subjects in the wide range of archæological inquiry and literature which have not been advantageously elucidated through his indefatigable investigations.

"The retrospect of the past year brings before us others highly distinguished in the world of literature, whose loss we record with very deep regret,—the erudite historian and poet, the late Dean of St. Paul's, at one period an Honorary Member of the Central Committee, and who repeatedly honored our proceedings with his friendly participation ;—the most learned and eminent also of the archæologists of Ireland, the Rev. Dr. Todd, for several years President of the Royal Irish Academy, the biographer of St. Patrick, and the accomplished authority alike in all questions of Early Irish Art and obscure periods of Irish History. His friendly encouragement was shown at the very outset of our enterprise as a member of our Council ; and we recall, with gratification, the kind interest with which he engaged in the transactions of the congress at Winchester, and also in other earlier proceedings of our Society.

"In recurring to friendly intercourse with antiquaries of the sister kingdom, we cannot refrain from the expression of sympathy and sorrow on occasion of the sudden and untimely decease of a valued coadjutor, to whose pen, not less than to his skill as a draughtsman, the Institute has so frequently been under obligation. From very early days in the prosecution of the purpose that won for the Institute the cordial co-operation of so many distinguished antiquaries in the three kingdoms, we had enlisted in our favor the warm interest and accomplished attainments of Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, a gentleman engaged actively in the Geological Survey in Ireland, and who, in the discharge of his official functions, had constant opportunities for minute investigation of the remarkable remains scattered over every district of that country. The readers of our Journal cannot fail to recall, with satisfaction, his instructive contributions : his peculiar ability in delineating the relics of antiquity, in the appreciation also of their special and characteristic features, has perhaps never been surpassed. The admirable pictorial catalogue of the collection preserved by the Royal Irish Academy, forming a precious monument of the artistic skill of our lamented friend, Du Noyer, was liberally sent to several of our Annual Meetings by the Academy, to whose courtesy we have thus been indebted for advantageous facilities of comparison of rare types of prehistoric vestiges in Ireland with such as have enriched the temporary collections formed at our Annual Meetings.

"With the sad enumeration of departed friends, whose active co-operation we have for many years enjoyed in prosecution of the objects of our common purpose, we may be permitted to advert also to the loss of a patron, eminent in the high functions of his important position,—His Grace the late Archbishop of Canterbury. The numerous members of our Society who enjoyed the welcome extended to us in the county of Kent by the lamented Marquess Camden, with many persons of leading influence and sympathy in our kindred purposes for public gratification and instruction, will gratefully recall the encouragement with which our meeting at Rochester was favored by the personal participation of the Primate, and by the liberal consideration with which it was his pleasure to contribute from the treasures—the precious heir-looms preserved at Lambeth—such objects as might be most available to augment the interest of our visit to that part of the realm.

"We cannot close the tribute of regard towards those whose influence or active cooperation have at various periods cheered our progress, without the mention of a valued and venerable friend, the late Rev. Canon James, by whom the gratifying success of the meeting at Peterborough was mainly promoted ;—of another cordial supporter, one of the most constant and genial associates in our periodical gatherings, Mr. Hayward, formerly our kindly auxiliary at Lincoln ;—General Scott, also, whose name is found amongst the earliest of our members ;—the talented writer, Mr. Samuel Lucas, from whom we received a valuable contribution to the Historical Section at the Gloucester congress ;—and, lastly, not the least highly esteemed in this mournful category, our generous friend, Mr. John Webb, whose choice treasures of mediæval antiquity, selected with most discriminating taste, were ever entrusted with liberal confidence to enrich our exhibitions, or to aid the illustration of subjects of the History of the Arts, that it has been the endeavor of the Institute to present in the most ample and instructive detail.

"There remains one other, however, long held in warm, grateful estimation, whose hearty regard and generous consideration in promoting the advancement of the Institute, have in no instance perhaps been surpassed. In the loss of the Rev. John Louis Petit we have to deplore one endeared to us through full five-and-twenty years of genial intercourse, whilst his high attainments in the special section of Archæological Science, his tasteful discrimination in the elucidation of the History of Mediæval Architecture in all countries, his incomparable skill in delineating the characteristic features of each style and period, have been accompanied by munificent liberality in enabling others to share in the enjoyment that he had found in pursuits to which he was so keenly attached. From the first our publications were constantly enriched through his munificence ; he almost invariably cheered our Annual Assembly with his valued cooperation ; the very latest period of his life was marked by thoughtful consideration for the welfare of our Society, and for the gratification of those who had for so many years enjoyed his friendship and participation in our common purpose."

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and also of members of the Institute recommended to fill the vacancies, were then submitted to the meeting and unanimously adopted. To retire :—one Vice-President, the Earl of Enniskillen ; six members of the Central Committee ; Capt. Brackenbury, R.A. ; the Hon. W. Egerton, M.P. ; Mr. Walter D. Jeremy ; Major-General Lefroy, R.A. ; Sir Frederic Madden ; and Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart. The following being recommended for election :—as Vice-President, the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, D.D., F.S.A. :—as members of the Committee, Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F.S.A. ; Mr. Augustus W. Franks, M.A., F.S.A. ; Mr. W. H. Tregellas ; Mr. W. F. Vernon ; Mr. Westmacott, R.A. ; and Mr. C. Knight Watson, Secr. S.A. Also, as Auditors for the current year, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, B.C.L., F.S.A. ; Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., F.S.A. And, in the room of Sir John Boileau, Bart., deceased, Major-General J. H. Lefroy, R.A., was unanimously elected a Vice-President of the Institute.

A few questions upon financial matters and the condition of the issue of the Journal having been put by various members and answered by the Honorary Secretary, the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet was

moved by the Rev. E. HILL, seconded by Archdeacon STANTON, and carried unanimously.

The consideration of the place for the next Annual Meeting being the next subject, Mr. BURTT read a letter he had received from Mr. Albert Way, expressing his regret at his inability to be at the meeting, and submitting some particulars of encouragement as regarded future places of meeting which had been addressed to him by various friends. In discussing the claims of Northampton, Hereford, and Leicester, Mr. Way chiefly dwelt upon the reasons which seemed to point to delaying the visit of the Institute to Northampton and Hereford. Mr. Burtt then stated that a formal invitation had been received from Leicester, which was read. It was proposed by Mr. C. TUCKER, and seconded by Mr. TALBOT BURY, that Leicester be the place of meeting for 1870. After some slight discussion this was carried *nem. con.*

The Rev. J. LEE WARNER drew attention to the urgent want of a General Index to the Journal of the Institute. He was aware that it would be a great undertaking, but the difficulties were not insuperable, and if the first twenty volumes were taken in hand by ten persons, the labour would not be very heavy. Considerable discussion ensued, which resulted in seven names being given in to the Hon. Sec. as volunteers for the work, to which Mr. Burtt also promised any help he could give. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting broke up.

At ten o'clock the Historical Section met in the Town Hall. Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President of the Institute, on taking the chair, said he thought it might be desirable that he should say a few words on his own behalf. In the first place he must apologize for not having been among them sooner. It was an act of much self-denial, and nothing but a pressing sense of duty would have prevented him from being present; and he did not think he should have been right if he had not been at his post in the House of Lords at such an important crisis. He was in hopes that matters had taken a turn so as to enable him to remain at Bury for the rest of the week, but he was sorry to find this was not the case, and this would probably be his last day with them. He had a cordial recollection of the very pleasant day the Institute had spent in Bury on a previous occasion, when an excursion was made from Cambridge. He hoped the present meeting would be a successful one; it had begun well, and they had been favoured with fine weather. He had with much satisfaction inspected the Museum, and he considered it a very good collection. He would not detain them longer considering the riches in store for them that day, but would call upon the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, the President of the Section, for his Address.

HIS LORDSHIP then rose and read an Address, which he said might be considered to be a Plea for a History of Suffolk. This excellent discourse has been already presented at length to the readers of the Journal (p. 197).

The CHAIRMAN said they could not but be grateful to Lord Arthur Hervey for his paper, which was full of research; and there were many points which might lead to discussion. There was one point to which he would direct the writer's attention for re-consideration, he meant the word "wich," as applied to places near the sea. He could mention several names ending in that syllable which were not so situated. He was sure, however, that they would accord to Lord Arthur Hervey their best thanks for his valuable paper.

Mr. BURTT, then, in the absence of John Bruce, Esq., read that gentleman's Memoir on "Sir Simonds D'Ewes." This is given in the present volume of the Journal (p. 323, *ante*).

At the conclusion of the paper, Lord ARTHUR HERVEY moved the thanks of the meeting to the writer, who had treated his subject excellently, having stores of information at his command which few could attain without immense labour. As to D'Ewes himself, with his undoubted industry and ability, he was a man of very mixed qualities. Besides the evidence of his conceit given by Mr. Bruce, the men of Suffolk would not forget how he hurried on his marriage with the young and rich heiress of the Cloptons, and how, after his marriage, when his wife was stricken down with fever, he ran away from her and wrote loving letters to her.

A memoir by Mr. W. Rye, of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, upon the Guilds of Bury St. Edmunds, was then read. This paper will be given in a subsequent volume of the Journal.

After votes of thanks to the writers, the meeting was adjourned to the next day at 9:30 A.M.

At about half-past one o'clock the members of the Institute and visitors, together with the Mayor and Corporation of Bury, left the vicinity of the Angel Hotel for a visit to Ickworth Park, by invitation of the Marquis of Bristol. On their arrival the company were cordially received by the noble President of the meeting and various members of his family, and were very handsomely entertained at luncheon by his Lordship. At the conclusion of the luncheon the noble Marquis announced, with great regret, that he was compelled to leave, as he had to be in his place in the House of Lords that evening. Before going he expressed, amidst much applause, the pleasure he felt in seeing so many present that day, and he was particularly pleased that the Mayor and Corporation of Bury had honoured him with their presence. Lord Talbot de Malahide, who had also to be present in town for the same reason as the noble Marquis, on behalf of the Institute and the general company, warmly thanked the Marquis of Bristol for the hospitable manner in which they had been entertained at Ickworth.

Ample time having been given for a stroll about the beautiful grounds, the company again entered the carriages and were driven to Saxham Church. Here the principal object of interest is the round tower, upon which Mr. TYMMS read some notes. After adverting to the opinion which prevailed at one time that such towers were of Danish origin, Mr. Tymms referred to their main characteristics, and to their existing chiefly in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The tower of Saxham was perhaps the finest of them all; and the special points of interest in it were remarked upon by Mr. Tymms, Mr. Bloxam, and other members of the Institute. It was considered to be of the eleventh century, the details of the exterior being a century later. One of the points calling forth much remark was the low recessed arch against the southern pier of the tower. The chapel of Thomas Lucas, Solicitor-General to Henry VIII., containing the monument of Lord Crofts, Baron of Saxham, "Mad-cap Crofts," the friend of Charles II., also attracted much attention.

The next place visited was West Stow Hall, the residence of Mr. Bloomfield, which was reached after a pleasant drive of a few miles. The

gate-house and a large room at the north side are all the remains of the original hall. Mr. Tymms read some notes upon the history of the building. The lordship of West Stow was the property of the abbots of Bury, and at the Dissolution was granted to Sir John Croftes, a member of the household of the king's sister, Mary, the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. When he enlarged the hall he added the beautiful gate-house, and in compliment to his royal mistress surmounted it with her arms, which may still be seen. In an upper chamber of the gate-house are some rude distemper paintings of the time of Elizabeth, which attracted much attention. They represent four periods in the life of man, by a youth hawking, a lover, a middle-aged man looking on at young folks, and an aged man hobbling onwards,—each having a few words of characteristic description.

On leaving West Stow the party commenced their return journey to Bury, stopping at Hengrave Hall, the fine Tudor mansion of the Gages. Mr. Tymms here read some notes upon the descent of the Manor of Hengrave through the families of Hengrave, Hethe, the Duke of Buckingham, Kytson, Cavendish, and Darcy to the Gages, who had held it from the time of Charles II. The present noble mansion was built by Sir Thomas Kytson, Knight, in 1525, but it had been much reduced in size by alterations since that date. The south front, the gate-house, and the inner court were good examples of the domestic architecture of the time, and their many peculiarities were duly pointed out to the company, attention being also directed to the old painted glass in the windows, and the numerous family portraits in the rooms, corridors, &c. In the chapel is an unusually fine window of 21 lights filled with painted glass of excellent tone and character representing the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and incidents in the life of our Saviour. Close to the Hall is the church, which, since the consolidation of the parish of Hengrave with that of Flempton in 1589, has been only used as a place of interment for the family at the Hall. In it are numerous monuments of various members of the family, upon which Mr. Bloxam made some remarks. The large party lingered long amidst the many and varied attractions of this fine mansion, and then took the road to Bury, which was reached shortly after seven o'clock, after a busy, pleasant, and most interesting day.

At nine o'clock a conversazione was held in the temporary museum, for which the President and Council of the Athenæum had kindly given up their handsome Assembly Room. The gathering was numerous, especially considering the fatiguing day many had undergone; and the large and fine collections of remarkable objects, skilfully arranged by Mr. Tucker and his assistants, were the subjects of careful examination and comment.

Friday, July 23.

The Historical Section met in the Guildhall at 9.30 A.M., when Mr. TALBOT BURY, F.S.A., took the chair. The Rev. J. J. RAVEN read a memoir on "Church Bells in Suffolk."

Mr. Raven said England had been termed emphatically "the ringing island," and it was not remarkable therefore that the early history of bells, bell-founders, and of change-ringing, should claim a share of the attention of all interested in archæological studies. Among the oldest

bells in the county of Suffolk was that in the Norman church of Wordwell. Early bells were generally without inscription, but were neatly cast, with a narrow ribbon about two inches below the shoulder. From about 1250 to 1400 inscriptions were cast in the Lombardic character, and to this period probably belonged three bells at Weston, near Beccles. At Worlington were three bells bearing the name of the founder, "Johannes Godynge de Lenne me fecit," and this Lynn foundry appeared to have been of considerable importance. The Bury monks had left no record of their skill in bell-founding before 1400. In the period from 1400 to 1550 inscriptions on bells were in the ordinary mediæval type or black letter, and many of that period could be traced to Bury. Bells cast there were in fact scattered over Norfolk and parts of Cambridgeshire and Essex, as well as Suffolk. The most remarkable was the tenor in the famous peal of eight at Redenhall in Norfolk. The Bury foundry came to an end about the year 1675. Some bell-founders at Norwich cast many of the bells in Suffolk. The bells in the Norman tower at Bury were re-cast, in 1785, by Thomas Osborn of Downham Market. A history of the two Bury peals would present many curious facts to the campanologist. Mr. Raven then adverted to some special usages connected with bells in churches in Bury and the neighbourhood, and concluded by expressing a hope that his attempt to produce a history of the church bells of Suffolk would be supplemented by any information bearing upon the subject.

Mr. BURT thought that the initials of one of the bell-founders that had been read "H. S." were "H. G." As an instance of an earlier-dated bell than any referred to by Mr. Raven, he stated that in the museum formed at the Lancaster meeting in 1868 was a rubbing from a bell in the valley of the Lune dated 1296.

Mr. J. C. FORD then read a paper on "The Mints of Bury," by Mr. C. Golding.

"Numismatics, commencing at the very portals of archæology, may properly be classed with it. When man first began to shake off his lethargy respecting such matters, this interesting science took root. Follow him through his rude and early efforts, in the perpetuation of events and facts, by the use of metals, and we have some of our first glimpses of historical learning.

In facilitating commerce, in opening up mineral wealth, in creating means for education, in spreading tenets of religious belief, in forwarding arts and manufactures,—a circulating medium has ever been one of the greatest means to these noble ends, and to that medium more than to any one thing else the world owes its present condition of advancement and wealth.

Local mints are known to have existed in England before the Conquest, and every city, and nearly every important town has had the privilege of coinage granted and confirmed by various charters of the succeeding monarchs.

In Suffolk, Dunwich, and Orford, as well as St. Edmund's Bury, Ipswich, and Sudbury, are claimed by some writers to have possessed the same royal privilege, but the proofs of the two former are so doubtful,—no coins being with certainty to be assigned to them,—that further discoveries must be made before we can class them with our Suffolk mints.

The whole history of the kingdom of the East Angles at the commencement of the ninth century is involved in much perplexity ; so much so, that the names even of some of the kings are unknown. Of the monarchs, Beorn (who according to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, appears to have reigned in East Anglia about 760), Eadmund, Oswald, Ethelred (Ethelred I.), and Ethelstan, coins are still existing, but no name of any town or place in Suffolk is mentioned upon any one of them. If Eadmund's coins can all be assigned to Bury, then a mint can be said to have been founded here about the year 856. Many types of his coins are frequently to be met with.

When the whole of the Heptarchic States became united in one kingdom under one sole monarch, we find the places of mintage were generally added to the legend on the reverse of the coin, together with the moneyer's name. The first proof of a grant to St. Edmund's Bury is by King Edward the Confessor, in the year 1065, but only one moneyer's name appears,—that of MORRE,—on those struck in that town. A specimen is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Although this mint is not mentioned in Domesday Book, yet evidence exists on the coins themselves that both King William I. and II. coined here. As many of the types, both of the Conqueror and of Rufus, are so similar, it is most difficult to assign them with certainty to either king ; but of Bury mint those reading SC.EA. can assuredly be assigned to Bury.

During Henry I.'s reign there is positive proof of the existence of this mint ; the coins bearing in addition to the moneyer's name the name of the town, s. EDM. In the year 1125, we find by the Annals of St. Edmund's Bury, King Henry I. sent orders from Normandy for the severest sentence of the law to be passed upon false coiners and others, because the money was so corrupted that it would not pass in any market.

In the reign of King Stephen, whose coins are somewhat scarce, a fine specimen reading ON· S· EDMUND is in the local Museum, the property of the Suffolk Archæological Institute ; and another, giving the moneyer HVMFREI·ON·S·ED· is exhibited by myself.

In the reign of Henry II., whose coins generally are badly struck, mis-shapen, and the legends imperfect, the names of HENRI.—PILLA.—RAVF. and WILLELM. are each found as moneyers of this town.

In the reign of King John, although no coins of that king can be assigned to any English mints, yet, in the year 1208, writs were issued to the moneyers of various cities and towns, St. Edmund Bury being mentioned amongst them, for them to appear at Westminster with all their dies, and those also who were skilled workers of money in the town of Bury, on the Quinzaine of St. Denis (that is, the fifteenth day after the Feast of that Saint), to receive there the King's commands.

King Henry III.'s coins are exceeding numerous, and in connection with St. Edmund's Bury so many moneyers' names occur that we may conclude that the mint was extensively worked, although the length of his reign may in some measure account for this. The Custos Cunei, i.e., keeper of the dies for the Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, in the year 1267, was William-Le-Shrub. Reginald Fitz-Henry is also given as a moneyer at Bury in this reign. Coins bearing the names of the moneyers, FVLKE.—NORMAN.—RAVF.—ROGER.—SIMVND. and WILLAM. are all in my collection ; and in other cabinets are those of the moneyers, HVMFREI

and IOHAN. This RAVF. and WILLELM. cannot possibly be the same individuals as those of King Henry II.'s reign; but the last named, WILLELM., is doubtless the same as William-Le-Shrub, appointed, as we have seen, in the year 1267.

Thus ends the history of the early series, or short cross types, of all the reigning monarchs from the Conquest; and we now (about the year 1279) meet with the cross extending to the outer rim or edge of the coin, leaving the legend to be inscribed on the four quarters around the edge, but only on the reverse side, the obverse side having the king's profile and titles. Of King Henry III.'s reign, these long cross types, with moneyers of St. Edmund's Bury mint, have the names ION.—RANDVLF.—RENARD. and STIPHEN., none of which are names appearing on the previous short cross pennies.

In King Edward I.'s reign this mint appears to have been again extensively used, and numerous coins of this king bear VIL·SCIEÐ· or VILLA· S·EDMVNDI upon them, and the registers still preserved of this reign give us the following as connected with this town:—Richard de Bentley, as assay master for the king in his fourth year (1276). Jocce the goldsmith, as keeper of the dies for the abbot, in the same year. John de Rede, as assay master, and as moneyer, in the seventh year (1279). Robert de Hadlie, as moneyer, in the following year; and certainly he is the last moneyer that ever affixed his name on the reverse of any regal coins throughout the kingdom. Richard de Lothbury also was the master of the mint in the eighth year (1280.) After this period the name of the town is only to be found impressed in addition to the king's name and titles.

In the year 1283, J. de Lovetoft and G. de Rokesle were appointed, on the 16th of July, to enquire on oath what moneyers had made the king's money here; and also concerning the dies which had been made here; to examine the money, wherever it should be found, within or without the liberties, and to act accordingly.

Hugh de Houton was assay master in the twenty-fifth year (1296). Roger de Rede was moneyer in the same year, and continued to be master of the mint until 1318.

The coins generally considered to belong to Edward II.'s reign as distinguished from those of Edward I., are classed by the difference of the readings upon the regal or obverse side,—EDW. or EDWA. being considered to belong to the first, and EDWAR. being assigned to the second Edward.

In 1318, in consequence of the quality of the coin of the latter part of Edward I. and the early part of Edward II. that had been issued from the Bury St. Edmund mint (which seems to have been then conducted in a very negligent manner), a writ was issued directed to the barons of the exchequer, stating that as no trial of the money coined here had been made either in this reign or in that of his father, they were commanded to cause it to be assayed in the usual manner.

William de Stowe was warden of the mint, and Alan de Cove master of the mint in the same year. In the following year (1319), Hugh de Howton is mentioned as master of the mint, who was probably the same person as named in the preceding reign as assayer. John de Redgrave occurs as assay master for the king in the fourteenth year of Edward II. (1320).

After this date no other evidence occurs to prove the continuance of the mint at Bury St. Edmunds; and as, in the great contest between the townsmen and the abbey, in 1326—7, we learn that, with other valuable goods, the townsmen carried away twenty chests or coffers from the abbey, we can conclude that after that memorable contest the mint ceased. No further coinage, either by royal or abbatial authority, has ever been traced to St. Edmund's Bury.

The officers connected with this once important abbey, as concerning the coinage, were—a Custos Cunei, or keeper of the mint, a Monetarius, moneyer, or master, a Cambiator, or exchanger, two Custodes, or keepers, and two Assaisiatores, or assayers."

The Ven. Lord ARTHUR HERVEY having taken the chair, the Rev. W. H. SEWELL read a memoir on "Gipping Chapel," which was illustrated by many drawings and rubbings.

We hope to be enabled to give this interesting memoir in a future volume of the Journal.

The Rev. Dr. MARGOLIOUTH then read a paper on "The Historic Vestiges of the Anglo-Hebrews in East Anglia."³

The writer began by deploring the few existing remains of the Jews in this country, and the difficulties in tracing their early history here. Some of the Jews might have been settled in England in the times of the Phœnicians, and were known to have been here during the Roman occupation. During the mediæval period the Jews had schools, or rather colleges, in the chief towns, and held most friendly social intercourse with their Christian neighbours. Previous to the Norman Conquest, and during the reigns of the first three Norman kings, no charge of misconduct was brought against them. The subjects taught in their colleges were chiefly the exact sciences and languages.

William Rufus arranged a public discussion upon the tenets of the Hebrew faith between the Bishops of the Christian church and the Rabbis, and the result only awoke the most bitter feelings between them. At that time many Jews believed in Christianity, especially in East Anglia, and were the subject of persecution by their countrymen; but during the reigns of William II. and Henry I., the Jews prospered in England. Moyses Hall, in Bury St. Edmunds, may be considered a fair specimen of an East Anglian synagogue; and the learning and influence of the Jewish sages of that district are frequently quoted in the Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages. The Church found it necessary to send the most accomplished monks to the places which the Jews inhabited in great numbers for the purpose of preaching against Judaism.

With the reign of Stephen the troubles of the Jews in this country began. In East Anglia they were accused of the foulest crimes; and at Norwich the charge of crucifying a Christian infant was made against them,—the first of many such allegations. At that time all classes were more or less indebted to the Jews, and the first impulse was to get rid of such obligations. A Jew of Bury St. Edmunds, Sancto by name, was fined for taking certain vessels belonging to the monastery as a security for a loan to the monks. In the reign of Henry II. the Jews of Bury were charged with the crime of crucifying a boy, the wealthiest of their

³ The memoir, of which an abstract is here given, has recently been published, with additions, by the learned author; London, Longmans & Co., 8vo.

number were banished and their property confiscated, and those left in the town were heavily fined.

In the reign of Richard I., says an old historian of Suffolk, "the people, almost with one accord through the whole nation, as if they had been summoned by a bell, fell upon the Jews," and those of Bury suffered greatly. Their story, to their final expulsion from the country by Edward I., was chequered by some gleams of fair treatment; but they were, nevertheless, subjected to great indignities and cruelties.

The actual vestiges of the Jews in England are very scanty. Here and there a "Jew's house" is found, and the names of some streets and ways attest their presence in early times. The present police-station of Bury is one of the most interesting relics of East-Anglian Judaism. Its real name was the "Synagogue of Moses." In its architectural details it corresponds with the oldest existing synagogue in Europe, that of Prague. It was a complete establishment, comprising seminary, official residences, baptisteries, &c. About 200 years ago a bronze tripod vessel, of the capacity of eight quarts, was found by a fisherman in a stream near Bury. It was inscribed with Hebrew characters showing that it was a receptacle for alms, and was probably placed in the portico of the synagogue of Bury. Its existence is now uncertain, but a drawing of it is in the British Museum. (Add. MS. 22910.) The celebrated Jew author of the thirteenth century, Nicholas de Lyra, was probably Nicholas de Lynn.

Considerable discussion followed the reading of this memoir, the Chairman remarking upon the differences of opinion in reference to the building known as "Moyse's Hall," and Mr. Burt referring to documents bearing upon the history of the Jews.

The CHAIRMAN then read his essay on "The Worthies of Suffolk."

After adverting to the various courses open to him in treating his subject, he proposed to give a list of remarkable Suffolk men ranged under the departments of literary, political, and ecclesiastical life, selecting one from each department for detailed notice. Among ecclesiastics, Robert Grossetête, born at Stradbroke of obscure parents, in 1175, was the most famous. He was skilled in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and by his piety, integrity, and learning, he rose to be Bishop of Lincoln, and to be loved and respected by all. As the uncompromising opponent of every abuse, he opposed the exactions of the Court of Rome, and the practice of appointing foreigners and absentees to benefices.

The literary and scientific men of Suffolk had been many: among them were able and interesting chroniclers, but no historians. Crabbe, the poet, might be considered the most famous of their literary men. He was born at Aldeburgh, and must have been a man well worth knowing; for the son of the humble warehouse-keeper and tax-collector, by his intellectual and moral endowments, was loved and admired by Sir Walter Scott, Burke, Fox, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Canning, and Thurlow.

Of Suffolk artists, Gainsborough and Constable well upheld the name. After a sketch of the death-bed scene between Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and a brief allusion to the naval heroes of the county, his Lordship ended with an apology for the incompleteness of the memoir.

This discourse was followed by "Notes on the Discovery of the Sta-

tutes of King Edward VI's Grammar School at Bury St. Edmunds," by the Rev. A. H. WRATISLAW, the Head-Master.

"A school connected with the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds was founded by the celebrated Abbot Sampson, who built a school-house and endowed the school with a revenue of three marks a-year at his own expense. All the scholars, whether poor or rich, were to be free of payment for the use of the establishment (*quieti a conductione domus*), and there were to be forty poor clerks free from all payment to the master for their learning. The relations of the monks were to be preferred, provided they were poor and willing to learn, and the residue was to be made up at the judgment of the master. The master was always to have two clerks maintained at his table (*in elemosinario comedentes*) without payment; but they, as well as the school porter (*ostiarius*), were to be reckoned among the forty, *ne magister nimis gravetur*. (Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 14848, fol. 136.)

This school, which appears to have fallen into abeyance, was, upon petition, refounded, without any preference or privilege to the locality or any special class, but the poor, by King Edward VI. in 1550. Although the original statutes were not forthcoming, it was easy for my predecessor to trace that a gradual substitution of "town boy" for "poor boy," and "country boy" for "rich boy," had taken place in the successive alterations of the statutes, and that what was intended for the benefit of the district had been converted to that of the borough. Still, so long as the original statutes were not to be had, perfect proof in this respect was wanting.

But, on the 20th of August, 1868, I received from Mr. Henry Moody, a former pupil of this school, a copy of a document from the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum [Mus. Brit. Bibl. Lansdowne, 119. Pl. LXXIII. A.], purporting to be statutes of King Edward VI.'s free grammar school, Bury St. Edmunds, and preceded by a preface in elegant Latin, intitled: "Gubernatorum possessionum revencionum et bonorum liberæ Scholæ Gram. Regis Edwardi VI. in Bury St. Edmundi in Com. Suff. in suas pro eadem Schola bene instituenda leges præfatio." A great part of the Lansdowne Collection consists of papers formerly belonging to the celebrated Lord Burleigh.

My predecessor, Dr. Donaldson, in his Retrospective Address, on occasion of the Tercentenary of the foundation of the school, writes as follows, the school having been founded in 1550:—"The documentary annals of Bury school commence with the year 1583. The letters patent of King Edward had authorised the governors, with the consent of the Bishop of Norwich for the time being, to make statutes for the management of the school. Of this privilege the governors have thought fit to avail themselves on four several occasions. I cannot find any trace of the statutes drawn up at the time of the foundation of the school. Indeed, I should not have been aware of their existence if I had not seen a letter to Dr. Battels, written in 1687 by Mr. Leedes, then master of the school, which is preserved in Mr. Dawson Turner's valuable collection of autographs: 'To this school,' says Mr. Leedes, 'the founder gave no statutes; but by his charter made to the governors gave them *cum advisamento Episc. Norw. full power de tempore in tempus facere salubria et idonea statuta tangentia gubernationem et directionem pædagogici, &c.*, as the words of their charter are. . . . The first statutes that I find were writ

in Latin in the year 1550—the same year the school was founded—with an elegant and complimentary address to the masters, leaving them in many things to their own liberty, without the name of any bishop to them, and were printed about fourteen years after. After this, in the year 1583, another body of statutes, with many additions (and, I believe, alterations too, but have not time now to look), was composed and subscribed by the governors, and confirmed by Edmund, Bishop of Norwich.” Thus far Mr. Leedes, as quoted by Dr. Donaldson.

With this description of Mr. Leedes the document discovered by Mr. Moody tallies completely, while the differences between it and the statutes of 1583 are very great and very numerous, with, however, sufficient coincidences and points of agreement to show that the one document has been the basis of the other. The catalogue of books recommended for the several classes in each differs in many respects, while the truly Elizabethan wish “that the masters should be unmarried, if such may be gotten,” is replaced in the older statutes by a much more furious denunciation of the fair sex.

The preface, although written in very elegant Latin, deals so much with generalities on the subject of education, that it is scarcely worth while to take up the time of my audience by translating and reading the translation. I will proceed at once to the statutes, omitting those which deal with mere generalities, and selecting such as exhibit peculiarities, or other points of interest.

Statute 5 corresponds with statute 35 of the statutes of 1583, and runs: “They shall not exact any thing under the head of payment (*stipendii*) more than is publicly appointed: what is voluntarily bestowed over and above by way of remuneration, they may accept without fault. The usher (*Hypodidasculus*) shall have the right of exacting fourpence from the children of richer people, whose names he enters in the register.”

In 6 we find: “They shall pay equal regard to the poor and the rich: they must take the same trouble in teaching with both classes.”

In 8: “The usher shall come to the school at six o’clock in the morning, and diligently perform the duty of teaching till eleven.”

In 9: “The head master (*Ludimagister*) shall be present at seven o’clock in the morning, and shall not depart till half-past ten.”

In 10: “Both of them shall return at one o’clock in the afternoon, and shall spend the whole time that they shall be there in teaching, lecturing, and improving the ‘mores’ of the boys.”

In 11: “The head master may depart at a quarter past four. The usher must stay till five.”

In 12: “On Saturdays (*diebus Sabbati*), and half holidays (*Semifastis*), both shall remain at their work till three o’clock.”

In 13: “All the pupils shall assemble in the morning at six o’clock, and after dinner at one o’clock.”

In 14: “At eleven they shall depart to dinner, at five to supper.”

In 15: “Their number shall be one hundred.”

In 16: “The sons of poor men shall have precedence in being entered in this number.”

In 17: “Those who do not know how to read and write shall be utterly excluded.”

In 18: “Let them learn how to read and write elsewhere. Our

masters shall teach nothing but the rules of grammar, and the Greek and Latin tongues."

In 20 : "No one shall be entered in the number of the pupils of this school who does not bring with him either a parent or a relative, or at any rate some good neighbour as a sponsor (*fidejussor*)."

In 21 : "At half-past six in the morning, all the pupils kneeling down, and with their bodies in an attitude of devotion, shall utter suppliant prayers to God. They shall do the same with equal reverence at five o'clock in the evening."

In 23 : "No one shall come to school with uncombed hair, unwashed hands and face, dirty shoes or boots, and torn or disordered clothes."

In 24—29 we find a division of the school into five classes, the first three of which were to be under the head master, the last two under the usher.

In the first, or head form, were to be read : Cicero de Officiis, Cæsar's Commentaries, Quintilian's Institutiones Oratoriæ, or The Rules of Rhetoric in Herennius. In the second form : The History of C. Sallust, Virgil's Bucolics and Georgics, the Poems of Horace, Erasmus's books, De Verborum et Rerum Copiâ, and De Conscribendis Epistolis. In the third form : Erasmus De Civilitate Morum, the Latin Grammar published under the authority of Edward VI., Ovid's Tristia, and those parts of Plautus and Terence which are most free from licentiousness. In the fourth form : The Proverbs of Mimius Publianus, the Dialogues of Erasmus, the Fables of Æsop, Cato's Disticha, and Manini Carmina de quatuor virtutibus. The remaining forms were to be taught the first elements of grammar. It will be observed here that Greek is entirely omitted—an omission which is supplied in the statutes of 1583.

In 35 we find : "When the boys have to write, they shall use their knees as a table."

In 40 : "On Saturdays (*Sextis feriis et Sabbatis*), they shall read nothing ; but shall give an account to the master of what they have lately learnt (*proximis diebus*). They shall submit to the masters any declamations that they have composed during leisure hours."

In 48 : "Every boy shall be dismissed from the school five years after his entrance into it, and sent either to Cambridge or to other occupations."

In 49 : "Truants, lazy boys, and such as are dull and unapt for literature, shall be expelled from the school by the master, after he has tested their abilities and disposition for a year."

In 50 : "When it shall be thought proper that some remission should be allowed from the exertion of study, and that a moderate interval of leisure should be allowed (which will sometimes be necessary) for the sake of relaxing the mind and sharpening the wits, they shall amuse themselves with honest sports, such as running, throwing the dart, and archery."

In 52 : "Only on the fourth day of the week, which we call *Thursday* in English, and not then unless both fine weather and the industry of the pupils shall claim it, shall the opportunity of leisure, such as we have mentioned, be permitted."

In 53 : On feast-days all were to attend public prayer in church ; and, (54), Those who behaved ill in church were to be flogged.

In 55 : "They shall learn by heart the Articles of the Belief, the

Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and any other matters of instruction in the Christian faith that shall seem expedient ; they shall be instructed in them every Sabbath Day (? Saturday), till they learn them exactly."

In 56 and 57 : Two censors were to be secretly placed to inspect the boys ; and a third to watch them, and report to the masters.

In 61 : The usher was to open the schoolroom doors in the morning, and fasten them up in the evening ; and to take care that the school and benches should be swept and washed after the departure of the boys in the evening ; and that spiders' webs, dust, and any other dirt should be removed.

Finally : "The masters shall not bring up a family, or have their beds under the roof of the school. Let women, like deadly plagues, be kept afar."

"*Pædagogi sub tectis scholæ familiam ne alunto, neve lectos habento ; mulieres tanquam pestes capitales absunto.*"

Then comes an epilogue addressed to the masters, in elegant Latin, urging them to do their best with their pupils, both for their own sake, for that of the state, and for the spread of the kingdom of Christ.

Finally comes in English :—

"Articles to be recited to them that shall offer their children to be taught in the schoole.

"You shall submit your childe to be ordered in all thinges according to the dyscretion of the schoolmaster and huisher.

"You shall fynde your childe sufficyente paper, ynke, pennes, bookes, candle for winter, and all other thinges at any tyme requisite and necessarye for the mayntenaunce of his studye.

"You shall allow your chyld at all tymes a bow, three shafttes, bow-strynges, and a braser, to exercise shootynges.

"You shall see diligentlye from tyme to tyme that your childe kepe duely the ordynarye houres and tymes in comynge to the schoole, and in dylygente keepinge and daylye contynuyng of his studye and learniḡ.

"You shall be contente to receyve your childe and put him to some occupacion, if after one yeres experience he shalbe found unapte to the learnyng of graffer.

"If your chyld shall use at sundry tymes to be absente from schoole (unlesse it be by sicknes), he shall be utterly banished the Kinges majestyes Schoole.

"You shall paye to the huisher of the schole, if you be able therunto, fower pence for enrollinge of your childes name."

It will be seen from the above that no local privileges were given, or intended to be given, at the foundation of the school, the only condition of entrance being the intervention of a respectable person of the locality as a "fidejussor." Such privileges appear, from the researches of the Commissioners, to have been of later growth in all the schools of early foundation. These schools were apparently intended to act as focal points of education, and to attract pupils *undique* "from every quarter" within their sphere. Very little later, in the case of Rugby, which was established by a private founder in 1567, we find the converse idea dominant in the foundation,—the wants of the locality were to be first

supplied, and then the benefit of the school was to spread *passim*, in every direction, as from a centre, so far as the funds of the school would allow. I commend the investigation of the reasons, if any, over and above the private position of the founders, which caused such a change of idea on the part of the founders of schools, to the consideration of the meeting.

I will only allow myself one observation in conclusion, viz : that, in recommending the abolition of local privileges generally, the Commissioners have but returned to the original principles of the foundation of the earlier grammar schools."

In reply to some observations by Mr. Sparke the writer made some remarks of dissent.

Thanks having been voted to the various authors, the meeting was adjourned to Tuesday morning at 10 A.M.

At 2.30 a large party wended their way to the church of St. Mary. After a short time had been allowed to elapse, which enabled the visitors to scan the beauties of this fine structure, Mr. SPARKE, the senior churchwarden, introduced Mr. Tymms, and in doing so adverted to the register of the parish which he held in his hand, and to which he invited the attention of the members. Among other entries of interest is one relating to John Reeve, the last abbot of the monastery. Mr. TYMMS then spoke in detail of the various architectural and archæological beauties of the church, drawing special attention to the carvings and sculpture of the roof. Among other figures supporting the hammer-beams is one of St. Lawrence and his gridiron, a favourite subject with the builders, on account of the neighbouring abbey having among its relics a piece of the coal with which the saint was burnt. Mr. BLOXAM followed Mr. Tymms, and spoke of the effigies and monuments near the chancel. That of the dead body with the winding sheet, he said, had evidently been removed from its original position, for the effigy now lay with its head to the west. This style of representing the dead came into use between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and continued till the seventeenth, when it gave way to the *memento mori* of Puritanism—the death's head or skeleton. By the shape of the winding sheet the date of the monument might be known. On the north side of the church was the brass of Archdeacon Fynes of Sudbury, in cassock, surplice, and fur tippet. The effigy of Sir William Carew, on the north side of the choir, had over its armour the herald's tabard. The effigy of Sir John Drury of London, on the south side, was remarkable for having a frock descending from beneath the breast-plate, as sometimes seen in the pictures of Henry VIII. and Francis I.

Soon afterwards the company passed on to the other fine church of Bury, that of St. James, where considerable works of restoration have been lately done. It was to these works that the vicar (the Rev. F. R. Chapman) alluded at the opening meeting, and in respect of which Mr. Parker had granted absolution in the name of the Institute. Some of the visitors did not hesitate, nevertheless, to criticise sharply what seem to be great incongruities. Mr. TYMMS read some notes upon the early history of the church, and then proceeded to point out the many interesting features of the building. One of those features, which has now disappeared, was a porch on the south side, over which was a chamber assigned to the chapel of our lady. The porch, it is said, was furnished with brazen

doors, before which it was customary to distribute alms to the poor at the funerals of the wealthy. The town guilds held their celebrations in the church of St. James. Mr. Tymms concluded his remarks by calling attention to the covering of the old memorial slabs by the new flooring, and the removal from the church of a stone bearing the representations of a bell and casting-pit, nearly all that remained in the town to tell of a race of bell-founders that flourished in Bury in high esteem previous to the Reformation.

A visit to Hardwicke House occupied the latter part of the afternoon. It is a handsome residence, close to Bury, with gardens and grounds vieing with any to be seen in the county, and the house full of rich antique furniture and numerous and rare "articles de vertu." Many had been most kindly sent by Lady Cullum to the museum; far more were too precious and fragile to move. The late Sir Thomas Cullum had been long a resident in Rome, and had there formed an extensive and valuable collection of Etruscan antiquities and classic objects. The place and its treasures must be seen. So, without the bustle or form of an "excursion," quite at their leisure, some in carriages and others on foot, the company wended their way to Hardwicke as they listed; and the walk through the fine park with its magnificent trees, the pleasant jingle of sheep bells and the rich odour of lime blossoms gratifying the senses, seemed preferable to the dusty road. Passing through the hall and rooms and passages crowded with rare statuary, paintings, vases, &c., the visitors found themselves on a smooth lawn pleasantly shaded by grand old cedars and copper beeches. Here, under the finest cedar tree, were some tables covered with select examples of ancient pottery, carved stone, bronzes, &c., and grouped around, with the most picturesque irregularity, was the audience, prepared to welcome Professor Babington's lecture. The Professor discoursed, with his accustomed skill, upon the illustrations of Etruscan art displayed before him, and discussed, with force and eloquence, the effects produced by the Etrurians upon the world's civilization. The lecture was heartily received and warmly acknowledged.

After partaking of a light and pleasant refecton, and rambling through the beautiful rosery and flower gardens, the company returned to Bury.

In the evening the members of the Institute dined together at the Angel Hotel, under the presidency of the Rev. E. Hill.

Saturday, July 24.

This was the day for the excursion to Framlingham and Ipswich, for which a special train was engaged, and which was soon occupied by a large party. On this occasion the visitors had the advantage of being accompanied by Mr. G. T. Clark of Dowlais, whose valuable services were felt to be of great importance in the illustration of such a subject as the castle of Framlingham. Arrived at Framlingham, the church was first visited. It is chiefly remarkable for its series of fine altar tombs of the sixteenth century, erected principally to members of the Norfolk family. The one in finest condition, and also of the most elaborate workmanship, is the tomb of Henry, Earl of Surrey, the poet and friend of Spenser, erected by his second son Henry, Earl of Northampton. Mr. BLOXAM and Mr. ALBERT HARTSHORNE discoursed at some length upon these monuments.

The party then proceeded to the castle. Under the guidance of Mr.

Clark a perambulation of the exterior was first made, the leader halting at the more salient points, and drawing attention to them on the spot. In this way the outer fosse, the *pleasance*, the towers, the sally-port, and the mere beyond, came in for an individual lecture. Proceeding to the great entrance tower, over the doorway of which are sculptured the arms of Howard, Brotherton, Mowbray, and Segrave, the company next passed into the interior. Here Mr. CLARK mounted a temporary rostrum and delivered an eloquent discourse on the influence of castles such as Framlingham had been. All who heard his graphic description of the circumstances of our early baronial history, of the important part played, so to say, by such structures, and who listened to his sharp, succinct account of the Bigods and other nobles, in the ruins of whose castle the assembly was gathered,—were as much instructed by it as they had been gratified by his clear explanation of the ruins themselves.

The company then returned by train to Ipswich, and, after a short stroll through the town, were received by the Mayor and Corporation in the handsome new Town Hall, where a handsome entertainment was provided. On the wall hung a full-length portrait of Her Majesty, copied by Phillips from the picture by Winterhalter, and lately presented to the borough by Mr. H. E. Adair, M.P.

The MAYOR of Ipswich (E. Packard, Esq.) was in the chair; on his right was the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey, on his left the Mayor of Bury St. Edmunds (G. Thompson, Esq.). The chief toast was "Success to the Royal Archaeological Institute," and in giving it his Worship said that if the Institute had gone out of the county without seeing Ipswich they would have missed some of its principal features. They had many old associations clinging round the town, and they had many fine old charters, manuscripts, and books in which were many evidences of local customs and of life in early times which they held in great reverence.

In reply to the toast, Mr. CLARK said,—“Mr. Mayor, it is my misfortune to have little personal knowledge of East Anglia, but I had heard your ancient and well-known proverb of “Norfolk wiles and Suffolk stiles”; and never, in our case, has a proverb proved less true. The only wiles we have met with have been those by which the fair daughters of East Anglia wile away the hearts of those who have still hearts to lose; and as for stiles, so far from our passage having been impeded, every gate and every door has been set open for us. It is nothing new, sir, to the members of this Institute to be cordially received by the representatives of the ancient corporations of England, but nowhere has our reception been more cordial than in this ancient borough of Ipswich, probably because, while living in and improving the present time, no county has reasons so ample for remembering the past as that of which Ipswich is the capital. Fertile in those fields of golden grain, across which we have this day travelled, and which promise so rich a return of material wealth to your coffers,—fertile in ancient manor-houses, overshadowed by yet more ancient oaks,—fertile in families which, like that of Hervey, have long been distinguished for polite literature,—you are yet more fertile, yet more distinguished for the great men—great in so many departments—who have sprung up upon your soil. You, men of the present, are linked to the past by ties of no common strength, associations of no common splendour. In piety, statesmanship, literature, poetry, and painting, naval enterprise and war, you can point to names of no ordinary distinc-

tion. St. Edmund, so long a fixed star in the Suffolk firmament, shares his crown of martyrdom with John Taylor of Hadleigh. Wolsey, a statesman whose fault it was to serve his king too well, still stands forth in full-blown dignity in this his native city. Cavendish, who steered Britain's oak into a world unknown; Nelson—for what is the mere accident of a boundary?—and Broke, those thunderbolts of naval war; Hookham Frere, whose father was the first to indicate those discoveries in archæology which throw so much light on the early history of man, and who was himself celebrated for his power of transfusing rather than translating the spirit of an ancient into a modern tongue; Crabbe and Bernard Barton among poets; Gainsborough and Constable among painters; and, in our own day, Ransome among the promoters of agricultural science;—these are but a few of your great men. Time would fail me to unfold in full the bead-roll of their names. I can but indicate the chief—can but strike the key-note of that melody which every Suffolk man in this spacious hall is well able to fill up.

No marvel then if, with associations such as these, you citizens of Ipswich, you men of Suffolk, are willing to show your sympathy with the past, and receive so kindly us who, however inadequately, endeavour by our researches to recall the past to your memory. I thank you, Mr. Mayor, in the name of our Institute, for your reception; and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which the efforts of your chief magistrate have been seconded."

Lord ARTHUR HERVEY next gave the toast of the health of the Mayor of Ipswich, remarking that old English hospitality was a glorious thing. It had flourished for ages in castle, hall, and cottage; and his Worship well and worthily represented the capital of East Suffolk in that as in every other respect. The MAYOR suitably acknowledged the toast, and proposed the health of the Mayor of Bury. The MAYOR of BURY replied, and the TOWN-CLERK, having been called upon, read the notes he had prepared upon the charters and other MSS. of the corporation. The charters of the borough begin with the reign of Henry III., and terminate with that of James II. There are, besides the charters, many special books relating to the early customs and manners of the locality, the earliest of which is of the reign of Henry I., and is called the "Little Domesday Book." Mr. BURTT said there was a roll in the Record Office in London giving an account of the collection of a tallage in Ipswich twelve years before any account of the inhabitants in the corporation archives. That roll gave an account of the property of every one then living in the place, and stated that the amount accruing from the tallage was a little over 37*l*. Mr. WESTHORPE then spoke of the rare old books and MSS. belonging to the borough, the chief of which were displayed in the room, and round which many of the party lingered.

The company, having dispersed after luncheon, re-assembled under the direction of Mr. R. M. Phipson, and proceeded to examine the various objects of antiquarian interest in the town. The first was the well-known edifice called "Sparrow's House." The date of the principal portion of this building is about A.D. 1620, and it is chiefly remarkable for its elaborate "pargetting." On the exterior this is emblematic of the four quarters of the globe, and of the four elements. One of the latter emblems was taken down shortly after a visit made by Charles II., and his arms were placed in its stead. The house has a good open roof of the time of

Henry VII.; there are also several quaintly wainscotted chambers; and in the courtyard is another piece of "pargetting" representing a procession of Justice. The church of St. Margaret was next visited. It is a fine structure of the Perpendicular period, of which the carved roof has been spoiled by painting, and other decoration, some fifty or sixty years ago. The clerestory is enriched with the flint panel work peculiar to the East Anglian district. Thence the party continued their wanderings to Christ Church Park, a Hall built on the site of the Holy Trinity Priory by Sir Thomas Pope, to whom the house was granted at the suppression in 1554. It is now in the possession of Mr. Fonnereau, who hospitably entertained the party with tea and other refreshments. The mansion is crowded with rich furniture, pictures, tapestry, and objects of art, with an examination of which the company were greatly pleased. The visitors shortly afterwards returned to Bury.

Monday, July 26.

The party of excursionists was but slightly reduced in number this morning when they started for Gipping Chapel, Haughley Castle and Church, &c. At Haughley Junction, which was reached by train, a gathering of omnibuses, wagonettes, and other vehicles, awaited their arrival, for the journey from that point was to be entirely by road. Though the morning was slightly overclouded, the day proved remarkably fine; and the drive being through a richly cultivated part of the county, the visitors had a good opportunity of seeing some of the agricultural wealth of Suffolk. Gipping Chapel was reached about eleven o'clock, and when the vehicles drove up through the pleasant avenue of trees, the Rev. W. H. Sewell and Mr. Tyrell were there to receive them. Drawing attention at first to the exterior of the structure, Mr. SEWELL pointed out the oft-repeated rebus and badge of the Tyrell family. Built by Sir James Tyrell, the supposed murderer of the Princes in the Tower, tradition avers that the chapel was an offering in expiation of his crimes. A remarkable feature in the building is its beautiful flint panel-work, an East-Anglian specialty in architecture. Mr. Sewell's pointing out the carved letters which he had read as expressing a date of the middle of the sixteenth century, was the signal for a general discussion, which grew somewhat animated. The decision, if any was arrived at, was in favour of the letters being read as initials, A.M.L.A.; but their meaning was only the subject of conjecture. The interior had no remarkable features of interest, except the glass in the eastern window, parts of which are very good.

The next point of interest was Haughley Church. This was ably explained by Mr. MORANT, who drew special attention to the tie-beam of the roof, the traces of the rood-screen, the side chapels, altar, and font. Leaving the church, the visitors made their way to the top of Haughley Castle and earthworks. Here Mr. Tyrell had kindly provided some refreshments, which were very welcome. Mr. DEWING discussed the history of the castle. The mound was eighty feet high, and was, in his opinion, Celtic. It had been the site successively of a British, Saxon, and Norman fortress. In the time of Henry II. it belonged to Robert de Brock, who was besieged here by the Earl of Leicester and his Flemings on their way to Framlingham. Afterwards it passed through the hands of the Delapoles to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The

Sulyards and Tyrells, who were subsequently connected with it, were the first to raise the banner of Queen Mary. Of the Keep nothing remained but the foundation walls, which were shown to be nine feet thick. The earthworks around must have been of great strength.

After expressing their thanks to Mr. Dewing and Mr. Tyrell, the company proceeded to Wetherden Church, another of the fine structures of the fifteenth century for which the county is famous. The chancel is of the fourteenth century; the nave and aisle of the fifteenth. On the exterior, round the basement, are shields with heraldic charges, chiefly of the Sulyard family and their connections. In the interior is a large altartomb of Sir John Sulyard and his three wives, in Purbeck marble. The aisle and porch were built by the worthy knight, then Chief-Justice of England. Evidences of the work of the Iconoclasts were very apparent in the defaced figures and legends. In the south aisle are suspended a helmet and shield, with the armorial bearings of the Sulyards. On leaving the church a hurried visit was paid to Haughley Park, where Mr. Pretymann most kindly received the company. It is an Elizabethan mansion, somewhat sombre in its outward aspect, evidently built on a much earlier foundation.

Pursuing their route to Woolpit, a halt was made for luncheon before inspecting the church. The church is one of the most famous in the county for its flint panel-work, and the porch is one of the most beautiful of the kind. The richly-carved roof, with the double hammer-beams, is exceedingly fine. Mr. DEWING obligingly discoursed upon the chief points of interest, and read a humorous extract from Jocelin de Brakelond, showing how the wily monk secured the living for the Abbey of Bury.

Hessett Church was next visited, and here the Rev. Canon Cooke met the party and conducted them over the building. The battlements of the tower, nave, and aisles of this church afforded another most beautiful series of examples of East Anglian flint-work. The south porch also is very remarkable. Inside the walls are covered with painting, the subjects of which are more or less perfect. On the north side is a St. Christopher bearing the infant Jesus. On the opposite side are represented the seven deadly sins, and the figure of a martyr, apparently surrounded by the emblems of various handicrafts, an allegory difficult to unravel. In the vestry were displayed those rare objects of ecclesiastical use which had been lately found at Hessett and exhibited at a meeting of the Institute in London, the Corporal or "Corpus Christi" cloth for covering the sacred elements before and during the celebration, and a "burse" in which the "corporal" was placed during mass.

At Rougham Church, the next *en route*, the Rev. C. R. MANNING drew attention to the principal points of interest. The chief feature is the double hammer-beamed roof, which is a remarkable example of the style, but much defaced by Puritanical mutilators. Near the chancel is a good brass of Sir Roger Drury and his wife, about A.D. 1418. Here, as at Woolpit, were many stone coffins lying about the churchyard.

Continuing the route to Rushbrooke Hall, Eastlow Hill was passed, to which Mr. DEWING drew special attention as being a Roman tumulus. The contents had been examined by Professor Henslow, and were in the Museum at Bury. Rushbrooke Hall was now reached, the last place in the programme of a long and interesting day. The picture-gallery,

tapestry, and historical relics of this old house were carefully discussed, Mr. Dewing obligingly pointing out the principal objects, and telling some of the story of the house and its fortunes. The Marquis of Bristol and some members of his family joined the party at Rushbrooke. Here a pleasant supply of refreshments was placed before the visitors, who returned to Bury much gratified with their last excursion in East Anglia.

In the evening another *conversazione* was held in the Museum, which was an exceedingly agreeable gathering. The contents of the Museum had been much added to since the opening, and the descriptions of objects improved.

Tuesday, July 27.

At a short meeting of the Section of Antiquities, Mr. C. TUCKER in the chair, reference was made to a paper by Mr. J. Evans, the eminent writer on Numismatic Science in this country, upon a discovery of ancient British coins at Santon Downham. It is to be regretted that want of time, in the author's absence, prevented the full reading of so valuable a communication; but it is hoped that the readers of the Journal will have the opportunity of seeing it. The concluding meeting was then held in the Town Hall, the MARQUIS OF BRISTOL in the chair.

His Lordship said it was with a melancholy satisfaction that he found himself in the chair, to which he had been elected by the kindness and courtesy of the members. Circumstances had rendered it impossible for him to be present in that position before, but he trusted that the week had been one of unalloyed gratification to all who had taken part in it, and that great pleasure and profit had accrued to them from the meeting. They were now met to take leave of each other, and to pass votes of thanks to those who were considered to deserve them. He called upon the Rev. R. P. Coates to move the first resolution.

The Rev. R. P. COATES moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Mayor and Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds for their reception of the Institute, and the facilities placed at their disposal, and to the Local Committee for their most valuable aid. He was quite sure they would give their grateful acknowledgments to the Mayor and Corporation, and as to the Local Committee, one gentleman (Mr. Dewing) especially deserved their thanks.

Mr. TUCKER, in seconding the resolution, said that great facilities had been afforded to the Institute for obtaining all the accommodation they required, and he trusted their endeavours to bring together and expound the various objects of interest in the Museum had not been without effect.

The MAYOR, in responding, said if the town had been enabled in any way to contribute to the pleasure, the convenience, and comfort of the Institute, they were quite repaid by the honour of its visit. Certainly they had been taught to appreciate more fully their glorious old town, and he believed this visit of the Institute would teach them to preserve their antiquities more carefully than ever.

Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the writers of papers and essays, and especially to the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey for his excellent Address. That department of the meeting had, he thought, without disparagement to any other, been the most successful. Passing in review the principal subjects which had been illustrated by the writers, he thought they had good reason to be proud of the results of the meeting.

Lord JOHN HERVEY, on behalf of his uncle, who was unable to be present, briefly acknowledged the compliment conveyed in the vote.

Mr. CRABBE moved the thanks of the meeting to the contributors to the Museum, observing that, in a general way, this Museum had been one of the best they had ever had, containing, as it did, so many articles of interest and value.

Col. BROOKE briefly seconded the resolution.

Professor BABINGTON, in responding on behalf of the contributors, said that such Museums did a great deal for the advancement of science, as they set people thinking on subjects which they had not considered before, and taught them to assist in their researches those who were devoting themselves to any special branch of antiquarian knowledge.

The Rev. E. HILL proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Marquis of Bristol, the Mayors of Bury and Ipswich, Lady Cullum and others, who had shown or offered them hospitality. He was obliged to word the vote in those terms, as there were several invitations which they had been obliged to refuse. All who had taken part in the excursions knew how very welcome such hospitable attentions were; he was sure they were fully appreciated, and he was convinced that the vote of thanks for such attentions would be carried by acclamation.

Mr. TALBOT BURY, in seconding the resolution, alluded with some pleasantry to the zeal and determination with which justice had often been done to the hospitalities they had enjoyed.

The PRESIDENT responded, and in acknowledging the vote said that he could only repeat what he had said at Ickworth, that he was sorry to have been obliged to entertain them in so hurried a manner.

Mr. BURTT proposed a vote of thanks to the Marquis for presiding, which was carried by acclamation; and in responding to the vote his Lordship wished them all cordially "Good bye."

THE MUSEUM.

The objects brought together in the temporary Museum were very numerous, varied, and interesting; so as to make it a subject of great congratulation that the collection was brought together. The ample size of the noble room kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute for this purpose enabled the Director to exhibit the objects to great advantage, and allow ample space to visitors.

The following notice only includes the more prominent items. The chronological arrangement, as far as possible, was as usual adopted, and in the earliest, or pre-historic period, the Rev. W. Walter Poley, of Brandon, contributed a selection of thirty-two flint weapons, some of large size; also some leaf-shaped arrow heads; also flakes, and sling stones. The Rev. C. E. Searle, a collection of flint knives, and a variety of flakes. A fine flint celt from Barden was shown by Mr. Darkin; also a spear head from Wisconsin. A flint chisel found on the Bartlow hills was brought by Mr. W. W. Boreham. The Rev. Harry Jones exhibited three flint implements from Barton Mere. Mrs. Rickards, of Thurston, a flint celt. Mr. Seggers, a remarkable cone of flint; and Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, a collection of flint flakes from Wady Ignaich. Amongst an extensive collection of Mr. J. Warren, of Ixworth, were four stone celts; and in that of Mr. J. Evans were six stone celts of rare types. Mr. Barton contributed a singularly fine necklace of amber, formed of oval beads and oblong

pendants, from a Celtic burial, together with three minute round gold boxes, and a plate of gold, about 3 in. by 2 in., of oblong shape, ornamented with a series of ribs and lines in quadrangular arrangement. The boxes were circular, about the size of a sixpence, the eighth of an inch in depth, with covers, and delicately worked. Mr. Thomas Spalding, of Westleton, flint and stone celts, and stone hammers, from various places in the county. Mr. Fison, Barmingham, a stone hammer head.

Passing to the Bronze period, Lady Cullum exhibited a good socketed celt, and a palstave; also a bronze sword from the river Lark, near Bury. A bronze spear head, with two holes on the sides for a thong to aid in fixing it, from Barton Mere, was shown by the Rev. Harry Jones. Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, an indefatigable collector, exhibited an extensive variety of bronze celts, Roman, Saxon, and Danish; bronze fibulæ of various designs, pins, bracelets, tags, statuettes, and other small objects; and John Evans, Esq., of Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, sent seventeen cards of Saxon antiquities, six Roman bracelets, twenty-five fibulæ, and various other articles. Bronze swords were shown also by the Rev. W. W. Poley, Capel Loft, Esq., of Throston Hall, and Mr. Warren. Mr. W. W. Poley also exhibited a noble oval undercut Danish brooch of bronze; and also a bronze sword found with it, at Santon. The Museum of the Bury St. Edmunds Society sent to the collection a grand bronze sword with swelling blade, and handle perfect; another, similar to the last, only less perfect. S. Fenton, Esq., of Mildenhall, sent a variety of armlets, rings, fibulæ, beads, pins, tubes, hooks, fragments of bronze, &c., found at Lakenheath, Icklingham, and Mildenhall. Mr. John Alexander Boby, of Thetford, contributed fibulæ, rings, and keys of bronze; two crystal beads, and other small articles, all found at Brettenham, Norfolk, near the ford by which the road known as the "Peddar's Way" crosses from Brancaster to Ixworth Thorpe. C. D. E. Fortnum, Esq., exhibited several Coptic Christian vessels of the seventh century, found near Thebes.

In Pottery of the Greek and Roman periods, an extensive series of Greek terra cotta vases of various sizes and forms, all more or less decorated, and in fine preservation, were exhibited by Professor Babington. Three good examples of Etruscan vases, by the Rev. John T. Ord, of Fornham House. Fragments of Roman pottery from East Stoneham, by the Rev. C. E. Searle. A patera of fine Samian ware found enclosed with a skeleton in a cist at Sturmer in Essex, during excavations for the Stour Valley Railway, by the Rev. W. W. Boreham. Romano-British black pottery, from Barton Mere, by Rev. Harry Jones.

In Majolica, Mr. W. T. Jackson, of Angel Hill, exhibited a vessel with grooved edge, and raised figures of St. John baptizing Christ, with two angels sitting by the water. Miss Lathbury, of Bury, exhibited a large dish, representing Neptune and other deities, and Perseus about to attack the dragon and release Andromeda.

It was to be expected that the productions of the "China" manufactory, formerly for some years carried on at Lowestoft, would excite attention; and, accordingly, Mr. W. R. Sedge, of that town, contributed more than a hundred specimens, all stated to be "Lowestoft Porcelain;" also some articles in Delft, and other Dutch ware. Mr. B. M. Bradbeer, of Lowestoft, also sent for exhibition about forty articles, all stated to be "Lowestoft Porcelain." There were also "Lowestoft bowls," and a few other articles contributed by the Rev. J. M. Croker, and others.

It is doubtful whether a great part of the ware called "Lowestoft pottery" was really manufactured there; or whether the clay even was found in England. By the early commercial intercourse which Lowestoft had with Holland, it seems more than probable that plain white porcelain bowls were imported from Holland, and afterwards painted in the factory at Lowestoft, where there was for a time a clever artist who successfully imitated Chinese painting. Some of the Lowestoft bowls are admirable imitations of the real Chinese articles. Many plain basins of Chinese porcelain remain in collections in the district. In many of the bowls exhibited the painting evidently was not Chinese, whilst the peculiar sonorous musical tones which they produced when struck by the hand showed that the fabric was Oriental, and made of the peculiar Chinese porcelain clay. There is also no evidence of the existence of a fine clay of that description at Lowestoft, or its neighbourhood.

Mr. Ford, the master of the workhouse at Bury, contributed a collection of about two hundred wine and other drinking glasses, of all imaginable shapes and sizes, many most delicately engraved on the bowls, &c.; and some good examples of early Venetian glass. F. M. Wilson, Esq., of Stow Langtoft, sent a tall cylindrical glass cup, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, elegantly mounted in silver, on a stand, supported by balls, and with a cover—engraved with the arms of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, viz: 1. Cecil; 2. Winston; 3. Cazaleon; 4. Heckington; 5. Argent a chevron ermine between 3 chess rooks; 6. Cecil repeated.—Crest, on a wreath az. & or, a garb or, supported by two lions, dexter ar., sinister azure.

Some of the most attractive as well as most costly objects exhibited were those obligingly sent by His Highness the Maharajah, Prince Dhuleep Singh, consisting of a gold coffee-pot richly chased; an enamelled silver coffee-pot, and salver; a small chased gold coffee-pot; a silver enamelled cup; a gold cup, and cream ewer; a gold chased ink-horn; also a gold enamelled ink-horn; a pair of gold and jewelled armlets, with large tassels of pearls; a dagger, gold mounted, enamelled, and jewelled; a gold enamelled scent-bottle; a small gold enamelled bottle for antimony; and a pair of gold enamelled cuffs;—all of them of most exquisite Oriental workmanship, and chased with exceeding skill and beauty.

Amongst numerous articles of silver plate contributed by Lady Cullum, may be noted a very large salver, of Mexican work, with medallions embossed and engraved; a loving cup, of large size; a smaller one, with a cover; a fine Peg tankard, on three feet; an oval plaque, deeply repoussée, brought from the ruins of a church in Sweden, very probably of Italian workmanship; the tea caddy and sugar basin of Admiral Vernon; eleven very good Apostle spoons; a number of other early spoons of a variety of shapes, many of them with peculiarly elegant handles; and many silver-gilt spoons of unique patterns; a small statuette of a lion; a set of silver gilt knives that belonged to Napoleon. The Rev. H.R. Creed exhibited a fork and spoon of hammered silver, dated 1564, found at Stow Market; a silver Nuremberg watch given by Oliver Cromwell to Major Richard Creed, who served in the army of the Commonwealth; also a silver mounted Nautilus, dated 1619, used as a sugar-basin; and a very large antique castor. By the Corporation of Eye, two fine silver bowls, and ladles. By the Rev. E. J. Phipps, of Stansfield, a silver parcel

gilt chalice of the fourteenth century. By Sir Edward Gage, Bart., a noble silver-gilt hanap, and cover. By Arthur Young, Esq., a silver incense burner, presented by Wilberforce to the late Arthur Young. By the Rev. J. M. Croker, of Lavenham, a noble silver-gilt cocoa-nut shaped hanap, delicately engraved. By the Rev. William Borrow, a silver-gilt chalice, with enamels on six bosses. By the Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt Drake, a tall silver-gilt standard cup, dated 1614. Cup and cover, with Suffolk hall mark,—“1641; I. & E. Wall,”—by Mr. J. Sparke. By the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, a silver tankard, coffee-pot, and tea-pot, formerly belonging to Addison. The Rev. James Beck exhibited a curious variety of silver drinking cups, beakers, a spoon from Lappmark, and also spoons from other parts of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

The Carvings in Ivory were less numerous than usual. Amongst them may be noted the back of a mirror case, of the latter half of the sixteenth century, from Lady Cullum. The dagger case, of Oriental carving, which belonged to Tippoo Saib; statuettes of St. Gothard, St. Romain; a female saint with a rope round the waist; a Virgin and Child; portrait of a prince of Wales; and some framed medallions, from H. R. Homfray, Esq. A female figure, in the costume of the time of Car. II., probably intended for a knife handle, by A. E. Gibbs, Esq. A fine medallion of Cromwell, presented by him to the ancestor of Mr. Croker, who exhibited it.

The collection was rich in Rings. The Rev. H. K. Creed exhibited two leaden rings, one from the ruins of St. Crowche, at Norwich, the other from the churchyard of Bury St. Edmunds; a silver ring, temp. Rich. II., set with an agate, found in Wetheringset churchyard, and with the inscription—*I H C NALARENVS REX* +; a silver gilt ring, temp. Edw. IV.; a silver signet ring, found in Mildenhall Fen, Suffolk; a metal masonic ring; silver ring found at Dunwich; gold ring, with portrait of Milton, in white agate; gold ring of sixteenth century, with jewel; gold tower ring, fifteenth century, enamelled, and set with a ruby; gold ring, from the Abbey ruins, Bury St. Edmunds; gold ring, found in 1852, in the silt of the River Gipping, near One House Bridge, engraving, an owl pouncing on a mouse; gold ring, set with a triangular sapphire, found at Rushford, Suffolk, in August, 1850; memorial ring of fine gold, with a death's head and motto, “Prepare to follow me,” found at Rickingham, Suffolk. Mr. Homfray exhibited two silver rings, and three ancient gold rings. Mr. Osborne, of Aldeburgh, a ring with a Merovingian gold coin set in it, found at Aldeburgh. The Rev. H. J. Hasted, a ring, with hair of Mary Tudor, duchess of Suffolk, and queen of France; also a ring, with a carving in ivory. A small ring, worn by the partisans of the Pretender, was brought by the Rev. Dr. S. H. Banks. A gemmel ring, by Mr. Fitch, of Norwich. An early gold ring, with a crystal and two small diamonds, by Mrs. Severn Walker. A case of twenty-three various rings, by the Rev. S. Blois Turner. An Egyptian scarabæus, set as a ring, by Miss Lathbury. A gold ring of three hoops, forming a sphere, Mrs. W. T. Jackson. Three gold rings, one with the posy,—“Prepared be to follow me,”—“My Heart, my love,” Mr. Henry Turner, Beach Hill. A Danish gold ring, Mrs. Rickards, Thurston. An ancient thin silver ring, with the Virgin and Child crowned, “our Lady of Loretto;” and another ring, “firm in love,” by Mr. C. Golding.

Lady Cullum sent two Chamberlain's gilt keys; one from Saxony, and

the other from Nuremberg. Captain Horton sent two ornamental keys, time of Charles II., one being the private key of Chelsea gardens, the other brought from Baptist May's house. Mr. Hasted, two small bronze keys, probably Roman; and one ancient iron key. The Town of Dunwich sent by Mr. Easy a number of early keys, some of bronze, others of iron. Mr. Thomas Spalding, of Westleton, twelve rare keys, of bronze and iron. Mr. Henry Turner, Beach Hill, Bury, forty-seven keys, various, found in the Abbey grounds, from the collection of the late M. S. Hodson, Esq. Ten keys, various, and a large church key, by Mr. Fison, Birmingham. Mr. C. Golding, many bronze and iron keys.

H. R. Homfray, Esq., of Stradishal, exhibited a curious variety of Snuff-boxes; amongst them, one of a piece of oak from Old London Bridge; also Napoleon Bonaparte's box; one of George, Prince of Wales; one, enamel, by Leniers; one, of avanturine; one of silver gilt, with design of hawking; six plaques of Battersea enamel, removed from snuff-boxes; also a gilt bonbonniere, stated to be by Benvenuto Cellini; and many other small articles of vertu.

Mr. Fitch brought twelve very interesting Matrices of Seals, with impressions. Mr. A. W. Morant, fourteen casts of Suffolk seals.

Mr. C. E. Gibbs, the cover of a fine Limoge enamel Tazza, by "Jean Courtois."

A great variety of precious objects of Bijouterie and taste were sent by Lady Parker, Mrs. Betts, the Misses Lathbury, Mrs. Severne, Mrs. Fitch, the Rev. H. K. Creed, Mr. C. Golding, Mr. Arthur Young, and others.

Sir Robert Buxton, Bart., of Shadwell Court, exhibited a most precious "Benitier," or Holy Water Stoup, that belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots. It is formed out of one piece of very fine avanturine, dated "A.D. 1565," and on the back is let in a gold medal, with the arms of Scotland, crowned, and a thistle on either side; the legend—"Maria & Henric" Dei Gra. R. & R. Scotorum;" also a large shell, mounted on an enamelled stand; and a snuff-box, from the Oxtead Collection.

A Fan which belonged to Marie Antoinette, painted with subjects in the Watteau manner, was exhibited by Beckford Bevan, Esq.

The Rev. H. B. Blake, Rector of Hessett, produced from his church an ancient "Burse" or case for the "Corporal"; on one side is represented the Head of the Saviour, and on the other the Lamb and flag; it is preserved, framed between two pieces of plate glass, in order to show the two sides of this curious relic.

Richard Almack, Esq., sent a silver buckle, set with diamonds, presented by Cardinal York to Sir John Cox Hipplesley.

Lady Parker, of Melford, a curious necklace, bracelets, and ear-rings, formed of coins, gold and silver, of early dates.

N. W. Bromley, Esq., of Badmondsfield Hall, the richly embroidered altar-cloth of St. Mary's free chapel, Badmondsfield Hall, Wickham Brook.

Miss Lathbury, a rich christening-mantle, of pink silk, and Spanish gold and silver point.

The Rev. Greville Chester exhibited a remarkable collection of spoons, celts, and other implements, all formed from the solid portions of the

Strombus shell, collected by him in the Bahama Islands, St. Vincent's, &c., the forms of many being identical with the ancient stone celts, hammers, &c.

E. C. Gibbs, Esq., of Icklingham, sent a selection of bronze statuettes, of the Cinque-Cento period ; amongst them, Mercury, Perseus, a gladiator, female with a thorn ; and several medallions.

C. Golding, Esq., of Wallsham in the Willows,—a case containing four small boxes of pawns or markers for some game, each box of a different colour ; square pawns and long pawns all numbered, up to twenty ; on the back of each box, an ingeniously contrived turning lid, so as to score as for whist in the usual way.

Mrs. Betta, Wortham Hall, Suffolk,—a splendid gentleman's suit, of the seventeenth century, of green satin, richly embroidered in gold and colours ; also a piece of gold embroidery on white silk ; and a dress of the time of Queen Anne, white silk, embroidered in colours ; a pair of embroidered gloves, temp. James I. ; and a pair of purple short gloves, embroidered with gold, of the sixteenth century.

Mrs. Arthur Young,—a set of wooden roundels, painted, and with appropriate mottoes, used for dessert, in the seventeenth century.

The Rev. Thomas Mills,—a box of similar roundels, more elaborate, in use late in the seventeenth century.

M. Gibbs sent the Parish Chest from Icklingham, a noble example of iron scroll work, of the fifteenth century, of great boldness and beauty.

By Mr. Sparke,—an oak chest, resting on five carved feet, the ends and front also richly carved, apparently German work of about 1620. By the Rev. Cyril Wilson, of Stow Langtoft, nine pieces of good Flemish carving. By Capel Loft, Esq., a carved door, and four panels, from Throston Church, Suffolk. By Mr. Tooley, builder, three bench ends ; five bosses from a roof ; two pieces of diaper paneling ; and a portion of panel tracery. By Mr. John Dorking, a carved wooden shield, from Guildhall Street, Bury ; and the ornamentally carved end of a beam. By Miss Lathbury, an early carved oak cabinet, with folding doors. By Mr. R. Fenton, of Bury, three oak panels, "Mary Styles, 1688 ;" a carved Dutch tablet ; and a carved mantelpiece, "1610." By the Rev. Owen C. S. Lang, a carved ebony oval picture frame. An exquisitely beautiful pair of carved ebony chairs, ornamented with carvings in ivory, and which formerly belonged to Cardinal Wolsey, were sent from Hengrave by Sir Edward Gage, Bart. Another choice example of delicate carving was exemplified in the lute of Queen Elizabeth, sent from Helmingham Hall, by John Tollemache, Esq. An alchemist's marqueterie cabinet, and carved stand ; the drawers filled with a variety of nostrums, charms, &c., by Dr. Bennett.

The Mayor and Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds,—two maces, of the times of Car. I. and II. ; and a sword of state.

The Mayor and Corporation of Ipswich,—a large mace, silver gilt, temp. Car. I. ; and a very heavy ancient brass horn, three feet in length.

The Mayor and Corporation of Sudbury, sent two maces of medium size, both of the time of Charles II. ; and a large silver tankard.

The Town of Dunwich, by William Easy, Esq., sent the short silver mace, and two Town seals.

The Museum was rich in MSS.

The Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt Drake sent the Notes of Sir George Croke, on Hampden's trial; Sermons of St. Bernard, 1475, folio.

Richard Almack, Esq., exhibited Letters from Thomas, Lord Wentworth, 1578, Feb. 6; John Reve de Melford, 1532, 26 Hen. VIII.; Earl of Arlington, 1st June, 1672; Thomas, Earl of Ossory, 1672; and from Sir Drue Drury to Sir Vincent Skinner, 23rd Feb. 1605; and a Conveyance, 7 Hen. VI., 1428, by Robert Aashfield, the builder of Stow Langtoft Church.

J. G. W. Poley, Esq., Boxted,—ancient MSS.; also documents with two remarkable bags for seals attached.

John Tollemache, Esq., Helmingham Hall,—King Alfred's translation of Orosius, a rare MS. of an early period; also a MS. encyclopædia of the reign of Richard II., in large folio; and a MS. Bible, of the fifteenth century.

C. Golding, Esq.,—sixteen leaves, memoranda relating to the lease of vicarial tithes of a Suffolk parish—1584. De Papâ Johannâ; original MS. by Ham. L'Estrange, Baronet.

The Rev. H. Hawkins, Rector of Beyton,—a copy of the works of Ovid, in 12mo., printed at Amsterdam, 1620. The second leaf is cut down, and covered with parchment, on which are pasted the autographs of "Hugh Middleton," and "John Dryden." Further on, another leaf is similarly treated, and on it pasted a piece of paper the entire size of the parchment, on which are the words "thyne Sweeteste W. Shakspeare Strattforde Marche 16." This appears to have been cut from a sheet of paper, and was protected by silver paper pasted in the book. The writing is smaller than the few existing specimens known to be Shakespeare's handwriting, and has every appearance of genuineness.

Capel Loft, Esq., the Account Book of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

The Rev. C. R. Manning, Diss,—the MS. Register of Sibton Abbey, Suffolk, temp. Edw. III., with computus of the bursars from 1363 to 1372; a Subsidy Roll of Hoxne Hundred, 17 Car. II.

Mr. W. T. Jackson,—ancient MSS. on vellum, circa 1350; books of accounts, 1570, and 1623; MSS. also of the Books of Samuel; of Kings; and Chronicles.

Mr. H. C. Mathew, of Felixstowe,—Autograph of Dr. Young, Milton's tutor.

Mrs. Young,—Original Letters from General Washington to Arthur Young.

H. J. Oakes, Esq., Nowton,—A Charm against Evil.

Sir William Parker, Bart., Melford Hall,—Grant from Philip and Mary to Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls, of the Melford Hall estate, Suffolk, signed by the Queen, and "Philip of Spain," in two places; also terrier of the lands in Melford belonging to the Priory of Bury St. Edmunds.

Thomas Mills, Esq., Saxham,—Funeral Monuments, Thomas Martin, 1715; Copy of second volume of ditto, by G. Ashby, of Barrow.

Rev. F. Lewis, Stow Market,—MS. Volume of Parish Accounts; also Autographs of Dr. Young, Milton's tutor.

Dr. Bennett,—Bull of Indulgence, Pope Alexander VI., 1503; and an Heraldic MS. of the sixteenth century.

David Laing, Esq., of Edinburgh,—MS. 4to. on vellum, circa 1430,

entitled, *Liber de Amore Librorum qui Philobiblon dicitur*, by Richard de Bury.

J. Read, Esq., Mildenhall,—Wm. Upcott's Catalogue of Tokens ; Coe's Diary, Penitential, &c. ; Jartree's Family Diary, on Vellum ; Account Books of the Duke of Rutland's Estates ; Court Rolls of the Manors of Isleham, 1408, 1673, 1680, 1684, 1699, and many others, of Barton Manor, Wicken Manor, 1334, 1394, and 1413 to 1421.

George Holt Wilson, Esq., of Redgrave Hall,—Assessment Subsidy for City of London, 1 Elizabeth ; Names of Commissioners of Subsidy, 8 & 9 Elizabeth ; the Charges of building Redgrave Hall, commenced in 37 Henry VIII. ; Court Rolls of Redgrave, temp. Edward I. ; Inventory of furniture at Hawstead House, 1606 ; and also at Hardwicke ; Pardon of certain prisoners, by the Lords Trustees of England, dated 1697, with autographs, Tenison, Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Dorset, Sunderland, and Romney ; a Deed of Entail of the Manors of Redgrave, Rickingham, and others, dated 2nd October, 1 Elizabeth, with autographs and seals of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Cecil, Sir Robert Catlyn, Sir William Cordell ; Master of the Rolls, Sir James Dyer, Sir Edward Saunders, Sir Anthony Cooke, Thomas Seckford, Gilbert Garrard, and Robert Nowell ; and various other deeds temp. Edw. III., Hen. IV., and Hen. V.

By Dr. Bennett,—Four Deeds, relating to a Chauntry at Eyke, in Suffolk.

J. H. Heigham, Esq., of Hudston,—a Pedigree of the Heigham family, compiled by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, for Sir John Heigham, of Barrrough, anno 1579.

George A. Carthew, Esq.,—Heraldic Pedigree, emblazoned, of Queen Elizabeth, with explanatory dissertations ; formerly the property of Maurice Skelton, of Barmingham, Suffolk.

Also, numerous ancient Deeds relating to Suffolk and Norfolk, from the Collection of Mr. Carthew.

In Printed Books, &c.

John Tollemache, Esq., contributed a copy of Caxton's Treatise on Chess, the first book printed in England ; a very early printed Missal, as perfect and clean as when first issued from the press ; and a Bible, dated 1552.

Mr. French,—Biblia Sacra, 1640 ; printed by M. Fletcher and R. Young.

Lord Arthur Hervey,—A Harmony of the Gospels, by Virginia Ferrar, of Little Gidding ; and a Sermon, preached at Saxham, 17th April, 1670, before Charles II.

H. Hasted, Esq.,—The "Tryal" of the Witches, at the Assize at Bury St. Edmunds, before Sir Matthew Hale, Knt., in 1664, printed in 1682 ; the Eagle and Robin, an Apologue, 1709.

J. G. W. Poley, Esq., Boxted Hall,—Book of Common Prayer (the first), 1552 ; Missale Hildensemense ; Copy of the Plays of Terence, with early wood-cut illustrations of scenes.

C. E. Gibbs, Esq.,—Boswell's Book of Armoury ; a folio copy of Gwillim's Heraldry.

James Sparke, Esq.,—Divina Psalmodia, 1678 ; Udall's History of Mary, Queen of Scots, with portrait, 1636, Haviland, London ; a curious early Primer, with woodcuts.

Mr. Nathan Last,—Two Treatises, dedicated to Henry VIII., 1546 ; Bone's Bibliographical Manual, temp. Elizabeth.

C. Golding, Esq.,—The Arraignment and Conviction of Usury, London, by The Widow Orwin, for John Porter, 1595, black letter.

Capel Loft, Esq.,—The Primer, M.DXLVI.; *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*; *De Venerie*, by Jaques du Fouilloux.

Rev. Dr. Banks,—A Pack of Cards, with Illustrations of the Gunpowder Plot, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and his life, death, execution, and funeral, Titus Oates in Council, &c.

J. P. Oakes, Esq.,—Common Prayer, 1629.

Thomas Barton, Esq.,—Wither's Emblems, 1635, London, illustrated with cuts.

Dr. Bennett,—Two forms of Pardon, 1480 and 1520.

Rev. H. K. Creed, Chedburgh,—A Card of Admission to a Masque, at Gray's Inn, on Candlemas night, temp. Car. II.

There were also exhibited a variety of old Engravings and Etchings, illustrating the Buildings of Bury St. Edmunds, and many other places in Suffolk. Also Water Colour Drawings; one of which, by Professor Donaldson, showed the dangerous condition of the Norman Gateway of Bury, before the repairs were undertaken.

Among the few Oil Paintings may be specified one, of the first Mansion at Redgrave Hall, built in the sixteenth century; and a Portrait of Dr. Young, the Tutor of Milton.

CORRIGENDUM.

Ante, vol. xxv. p. 287. I am informed by Lord Arundell of Wardour, that my designation of Mr. Michael Jones as a "record agent" is a mistake, into which I have unconsciously fallen in consequence of the frequent recurrence of his name attached to indorsements which I observed on various old documents formerly in the hands of the late Dr. Oliver of Exeter. He was a gentleman of independent means, whose familiarity with such instruments and records made his services acceptable to many friends in the explanation and arrangement of them.

E. SMIRKE.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1868.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance, 1st January, 1868:						
Cash in Hand	15	6	2			
" in Bank	45	9	10	60	16	0
„ Miscellaneous Receipts: viz.:						
Legacy, late F. Slade	100	0	0			
Subscriptions to Notices	6	2	0			
„ Interest from Investments:				106	2	0
" Lanceter Meetings, net profit thereon				2	18	6
" Admission Fees				110	8	2
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance for 1869				599	9	3
" Life Compositions				40	19	0
" Sale of Publications, &c.				49	15	4
				<u>£1000</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>
Investments:						
At 1st January, 1868	100	0	0			
Since 1st January, 1868, further invested	100	0	0			
	<u>£200</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			

This Account is found correct,
 (Signed) { WALTER H. TREGELLAS, } Auditors.
 { SIBBALD D. SCOTT. }

EXPENDITURE

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By House Expenses:						
Rent	155	0	0			
Secretary's Salary	100	0	0			
Draft Stamps	0	4	0			
Stationery, Printing, &c.	9	0	0			
Insurance, &c.	2	5	0			
„ Library Account				266	9	0
„ Publication Account:						
To Printers	360	0	0			
" Engravers	86	6	6			
„ Petty Cash Expenses:				386	6	6
Messengers and Attendance	52	9	0			
Postages and delivery of Journal	50	14	8			
Coals and Gas	6	13	0			
Carriage of parcels, &c.	6	11	0			
Sundries, cleaning, repairs, &c.	8	19	4			
Cab hire	1	8	0			
„ Removal Expenses:				106	0	0
By Paid	257	12	2			
Subscriptions in aid	230	7	6			
„ Investment Account:				27	4	8
Purchase of Exchequer Bill, being amount invested				100	0	0
„ Balance:						
Cash in Hand	34	9	9			
" in Bank	76	0	4			
	<u>110</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>			
				<u>£1000</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>

Presented to the London Meeting and approved.
 (Signed) E. SMIRKE, Chairman.
 12th July, 1869.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF LEEDS CASTLE, KENT. By CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. 4to.

A COUNTY History, that is, a mixed record of the topography and genealogy of a province and its proprietors, is almost peculiar to England. In works of pure genealogy, France, that is, the France of Louis the XIV. and XV., stands unrivalled as in the copiousness of the materials which gave rise to them. Germany also has produced its share of such literature, as has, in later years Italy, the great work of Litta. But in England alone has the descent of private estates been fully recorded with the pedigrees of their owners, and the story told of those buildings or remains of buildings which are unnoticed in any general work of architecture, and of those persons whose deeds even the most indiscriminate of general biographers cannot afford to notice.

Of such histories we have many; and if neither a popular nor an intellectual, they form at least a well recognised and highly respectable branch of our literature. Dugdale, if not absolutely the earliest, is certainly the parent of this class; and for original information, usually accurate, and delivered in a clear and concise style, his History of Warwickshire still stands without a rival. For copiousness of material the History of Leicestershire, by Nichols, leads another and very different though valuable type. Like Noah's Ark or the Sheet of St. Peter, its pages contain all things, clean or unclean, that is, relevant or irrelevant. Nothing is wanted but the wand of the fairy, "Order," though without it all is of little present use. A third and, again, a very different type, is found in the History of Durham, or at least in Mr. Surtees's part of it. It is the work of a man of genius, of rare originality, of elegant scholarship, and of ancient county family. His biographies of the Bishops of Durham and the Earls of Westmoreland deserve a better fate than to be relegated to the lower shelf; and in his hands even the topography, elsewhere so dry, has all the accuracy of a close observer of nature, fired and enlivened with the fancy of a true poet.

These, however, are not days in which either genius or industry can make a folio saleable. Our post-diluvian and abridged period of existence points very decidedly to volumes of more moderate dimensions, and accordingly our best modern County Histories, such as Hodgson's Northumberland and Eyton's Shropshire,—works equal in industry and superior in accuracy and general scope of subjects to any of their predecessors, and more scientific in their accounts of earth-works and buildings,—are fain to appear in a more convenient form.

The present age though, or perhaps because, it is eminently utilitarian, has made immense advances in every branch of Archæology. The records of the realm, either by printing, by calendaring, or by a better and more liberal arrangement, are not only open, but readily accessible to all, as

are now also other documents of a local but scarcely less public character, such as the Welsh records, and those of Chester and of the see of Durham. These have been saved from provincial neglect and cupidity, and may now be consulted without difficulty in London. The vast and most valuable testamentary treasures of the Prerogative Office in London, long guarded with truly ecclesiastical jealousy, and neglected by their guardians with more than ecclesiastical indifference, are now in lay hands, and partially laid open; and besides this a commission, one of the many services for which thanks are due to the Master of the Rolls, is now engaged in reporting upon the vast stores of documents which are preserved in strictly private and family repositories. Whether any reform short of a registral revolution will ever save for and make accessible to us the contents of the bishops' registries in the cathedral cities, or collect the scattered and neglected parochial registers into one repository, may indeed be doubted; but where so much has been actually done, we may perhaps confidently hope for and expect more.

The result of this vast accession of original information has produced a marked effect upon one great branch of Archæology. No doubt this very accession, these annual additions to our original sources have, to some extent, delayed the completion of new county histories; but, on the other hand, this augmentation has led to the establishment of county societies, and to such publications as the transactions of those of Kent and Sussex and many others, promoted and bonded together by the two great societies of England and that of Wales, which have somewhat thrown into the shade their venerable mother of Somerset House.

Nor should, in this general view, be passed over in silence that new branch of Archæology, latest born, but which has already taken the highest place; by means of which, closely allied as it is to Geology and Ethnology, we hope to see the solution of problems of the very existence of which we have hitherto been ignorant, but which relate to subjects of the deepest interest to man in his past prehistoric condition, and are not without their bearing upon his prospects in the future.

The volume, the title of which stands at the head of this paper, belongs to that small but valuable class of histories, such as those of Hawsted, Hengrave, Framlingham, Swincombe, and Alnwick, in England, or of Arques and Chateau Gaillard in France, and which relate to one house, parish, or family. It is a very complete description of the ancient castle of Leeds, in Kent, and a history of its very remarkable vicissitudes down to the time of its present owner and inhabitant, the author.¹

The book is a valuable contribution to archaeological literature. Not only because it is written in a clear and good style, handsomely and correctly printed, as from the press of Mr. Nichols it was sure to be,

¹ It is remarkable how insufficiently the value of our noble examples of military architecture was appreciated, until very recent times. Horace Walpole, whose dilettante inclination for the Gothic style tended doubtless, in no slight degree, to excite the taste that in our time has become so predominant, expresses with singular contempt his trifling estimation of Leeds Castle. Writing to the Hon. General Conway, in 1778, to enumerate sites deserving of a visit in

the southern counties, Walpole observes,—"Besides Knowle and Penshurst, I should think there were several seats of old families worth seeing; but I do not know them. I poked out Summerhill for the sake of the *Babylonienne* in Grammont, but it is now a mere farmhouse. Don't let them persuade you to visit Leeds Castle, which is not worth seeing." Letters, edited by P. Cunningham, vol. vii. p. 109.

and illustrated with many woodcuts and photographs, but because its descriptions are scientific and intelligible, and accompanied by an excellent ground-plan, while the historical part is very pleasantly related, and is supported by original documents.

Leeds Castle is a very peculiar structure. It stands upon three rocky knolls, of which two are islands in a lake of fifteen acres, and the third occupies the central part of the artificial bank by which, as at Kenilworth and Caerphilly, and in some degree at Framlingham and Raglan, the waters are or were retained.

The central and larger island is girt by a revetment wall, having half-round bastions, and rising about fifteen feet out of the water. This was the wall of the outer ward. About forty feet within and concentric with this, are indications of the wall of the inner ward, which was about eight feet thick and twenty feet high. At each end, connecting the two walls, and occupying the space between them, were the gate-houses, of which that to the south remains, and is a very curious structure. It represents, probably, a late Norman work; but its oldest recognisable part is a doorway of the time of Henry III., surrounded, however, by masonry apparently of that of Edward, his son. A bretache is mentioned in a Survey of 1314, but the present corbels overhanging the gateway, and upon which the timber work rested, appear to be of the age of Richard II., and probably date from 1386. The Constable's room, placed in the rear, and at the level of the portcullis chamber, is entered through a doorway the valve of which is original and peculiar, being composed of planks of a taper section, the narrow edge of one fitting into a groove in the back or broad edge of the next.

The domestic buildings occupied the north end of the two wards, and are replaced by a modern house, excepting only a vaulted cellar which may be late Norman, and is certainly the oldest known masonry in the place, and a bracket which supported the ancient oven, and is placed near what (17 Henry VI.) is described as "*Una coquina juxta pedem pontis de la Gloriet*," which kitchen was not long since removed.

In this ward also, or rather partly in this and partly in the outer ward, near a building of the age of Henry VIII., is a very remarkable bath—"balnea domini regis apud Ledes," as it is called, which was constructed for the use of Edward I. in 1291-2. This is now used as a boat-house. It communicates with the lake by a passage in which are still seen the grooves for the portcullis, and the recesses for the oblique gates by means of which the water was retained or excluded. Mr. Wykeham Martin's investigations of the accounts relating to this bath are very curious. The hundred Reigate stones, two feet square, which are there specified, just tally with the area of the chamber. Thus far the castle is or has been a concentric structure, after the plan much in use in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. and throughout that of Edward I. Its peculiarities are caused by the circumstances of its position, and remain to be described.

Of these the chief is the Keep or Gloriette, a shell of wall rising from the deep water around it to a considerable height, and containing apartments round a central court, an arrangement usual in Norman shell keeps. This shell contains the chapel, no doubt the "*major capella*" of the records, the kitchen, and amidst much work of the date at least of Edward I., more that is of that of Henry VIII., and even of recent date.

This island is thought to have been the original stronghold of those who first appropriated the spot, but the oldest work now seen dates from Edward I., and the style of the chapel points to about 1280. It contains, however, an excellent low side window, opening seventeen feet above the water, probably an insertion by Richard II. There is also a postern at the level of the water, part of which appears old, as does an adjacent garderobe. The basement by which the ground floor is raised about twelve feet above the water is solid, and probably very old, for no occupant of these islands for the purpose of security could have neglected this site. Edward no doubt remodelled this work with the rest of the castle, and possibly rebuilt the whole of the outer wall. Sir Henry Guildford, custos here for Henry VIII., seems to have removed part of the earlier building, and to have built a spacious hall, a large fragment of which is the present kitchen. During the reign of Charles II. these additions were much injured by fire, so that most of the buildings next the court are modern. Still the general type and arrangement was evidently preserved; and there is little doubt but that this structure represents a late Norman shell, if not an earlier Saxon house of timber. A handsome clock-tower, to which the term *Gloriette* is sometimes confined, contains a very early clock, and is of the date of Henry VIII., guarding the covered bridge which connects the keep with the larger island. This bridge is of two openings, and has two stories, and was originally a drawbridge, the pit being contained between the side walls, and dropping into the water. It is called in the accounts "*pons glorietæ*."

The term "*Gloriette*" is not of frequent occurrence, and its meaning has not been precisely defined.² It was first brought under our notice in the ancient miscellanea of the Exchequer, relating to Corfe Castle, amongst which Mr. Bond cites a document dated 8 Edw. I., that mentions "*Camera que vocatur Gloriette*."³ It was probably like "*Butavant*" and "*Cocaygue*," one of the towers of the enceinte of the castle, and may have been of somewhat greater elevation. Scarcely any vestiges remain. The name seems, however, sometimes to denote the whole of the buildings near the Queen's Tower and Hall; in that part of the castle there existed a chapel called the chapel of the *Gloriette*. It appears that the *Gloriette* tower at Corfe was newly built by Richard II., about 1379.⁴ Amongst the conventual buildings also of Christ Church, Canterbury, there was a "*New Lodgyng, juxta antiquam Priorum mansionem vocatam Le Gloriet*." Professor Willis informs us that it was the upper chamber at the north end of the range of buildings, known as the "*Privata Camera*," or "*Prior's Mansion*."⁵ A building on an elevated spot

² Ducange gives "*Glorieta, ædificium altius, nostris gloriette*." In the Roman de Partonopex mention occurs of a finely painted *chambrette* thus named. In the Statutes of Milan, also, the following clause is found. "*Si quis de cætero construere vel construî facere voluerit aliquam Balthescham, ponticellum, vel Glorietam, in ejus domo, super muro proprio vel communi, per quam immediate prospecti possit in domum vicini, hoc ei liceat*," &c. Lacombe gives "*Gloriette: prison,*

petite maison de plaisance, cabinet de verdure, &c." A favorite resort near Dorking, commanding a fine prospect, is known as "*The Glory*."

³ Hutchins, *Hist. Dorset*, vol. i., third edit., pp. 487, 494. *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxii., p. 215, 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵ *Conventual Buildings*, Christ Church, Canterbury, *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. pp. 105, 109.

in the palace grounds at Schönbrunn, commanding an extensive view of Vienna, is called "La Gloriette."

The third great division of the castle, also very peculiar, is the barbican, or tête-du-pont, which is placed on the counterscarp of the lake, here reduced to fifty feet in width, and at the outer end of the bridge which carries the road of approach into the great island. It is composed of three parts, which were isolated by three wet ditches, of which one is the river Len, and having three entrances, one from each wing of the dam, and one, the main one, central, from the south. Each approach had its drawbridge, gateway, and portcullis, and the three met upon a small central plot, open towards the fortress, and whence sprung the bridge leading up to the great gateway. This is the bridge that was broken down by the great horses and heavy waggons of Aymer de Valence. It is of two arches, the inner of which was open between the parapets for the drawbridge. One division of the barbican contains the mill, a strong fortified building, in advance of which were the barriers which are known to have covered the southern approach, and to have been standing in 1385. They were no doubt mainly of timber, though there are traces of foundations in masonry. This triple composition of a barbican has not been elsewhere observed. The object of its lateral gates was the defence of the dam, which might otherwise have been mined and cut through. Also those who came either from the east or the west could only have reached the south gate by a wide detour, for the causeway along the dam was defended on the outside as well as the inside by water, the lake to the south-east being of large area, and known as the "stagnum exterius," while, to the south-west, was a deep water-course and marsh formed by the Len.

Mr. Wykeham Martin, whose investigations of his hereditary fortress are evidently a labour of love, seems to have established firmly, on sound critical grounds, the date of its several parts. He shows the high probability of its occupation by at least a Saxon lord, and the changes it has undergone from the Crevecoeurs, Leyburns, and the Plantagenet and Tudor monarchs, who, from Edward I. to Edward VI., held it in possession.

Like many Saxon strongholds, Leeds is thought to date from the ninth century. It was held, probably by a Norman arrangement, by castle-guard tenure under Dover. To Bishop Odo, who obtained it at the Conquest, is attributed some Norman work in the church, but the earliest masonry in the castle, probably represented by the curious vaulted cellar, is thought to be the work of Robert de Crevecoeur, who founded Leeds Priory in 1119, and afterwards removed three canons into the chapel of his castle. A later Robert shared in the defeat of Lewes, and was in consequence obliged to yield up Leeds in exchange with Roger de Leyburn, a powerful Kentish baron, of a family whose unscrupulous boldness is well described in the Roll of Caerlaverock, which designates one of them as "A valiant man without 'but' or 'if'."

Out of the disputes between the dispossessed and the dispossessor Edward seems to have established a title by the strong hand. He gave to the fief the character of a royal manor, was a frequent visitor at the castle, and appears to have completely remodelled the fortress of the Crevecoeurs, giving it the aspect which in many points it presents at this day. By Edward it was settled upon the queen, part of whose funeral charges were incurred here in 1291. Here also the king founded a

chauntry in the castle chapel for her soul's health and it was about this time that he caused the bath to be constructed.

Upon Edward's second marriage Leeds was again settled upon his queen, and for several reigns this continued with some exceptions to be the practice. It was also much used for the reception of visitors of distinction who rested here on their way from Dover to London.

In 1321 the king's defences were put upon their trial. The castle seems to have passed by an exchange to Bartholomew de Badlesmere, a great lord, who in 1321 was away in the North plotting with other barons the fall of Despensers, while his wife and children remained in the castle, the Constable being a certain Walter Colepeper.

One night in Midsummer, Queen Isabella with a large retinue presented herself at the gates demanding hospitality. The Constable, dreading her designs, boldly refused it. "Nor queen, nor any other should enter without his lord's order." The "She wolf of France" ordered an instant attack, in which several of her people were killed, whose skeletons, bearing marks of violence, have recently been discovered before the barbican. The attack failed, and her Grace had to lodge as best she might outside. Of course this event had its consequences. The king proclaimed a levy "en masse" through four counties, and raised besides the "posse comitatus" of Kent. The muster place was Leeds Castle, the day the 23rd of October. Thither at the appointed time came the king and his brother and a large force, the command of which was given to Aymer de Valence, who pressed the siege vigorously. Badlesmere attempted a diversion, also by the display of a force, much inferior however in numbers, at Kingston, where he was on the 28th of October. All attempts at a negociation between Badlesmere and the king failed. The castle held out till the 1st of November, when this, its only known siege, ended in a surrender, apparently to the king in person. The brave Constable and twelve others were hanged, and Lady Badlesmere and her family committed to the Tower. It was thought that the execution of Badlesmere himself, when taken afterwards at Boroughbridge, was partly in revenge for his having, in writing, sanctioned Colepeper's resistance.

Edward, having thus recovered the castle, was frequently there, his last visit being on the 15th June, 1326.

Edward III. settled the castle upon his queen, and it was placed with other royal buildings under the surveyorship of William of Wykeham, who in 1359 seems to have laid out 16*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon it in labour, of which sum 5*l.* went to replace glass windows blown in by a hurricane, 24*s.* to repair Aymer de Valence's injuries to the bridge, and 70*s.* was spent upon the old chapel. In 1367 occurs a curious charge for habergeons, basnets, and other harness for a body of archers, for materials for making armour, and for the carriage of two beds from Leeds to Canterbury for the use of the Count of Flanders, and of six to Leeds from Sittingbourne. The castle cannot boast of any attentions from Edw. III. in person.

Leeds formed a part of the settlement of Anne of Bohemia, the queen of Richard II., who was himself much here. A list of the military stores of the place in 1385 is preserved, and includes the following curious items relating to the defences of the great gate or barbican:—"Duas portas nudas vocatas portas colys, et viginti pikes cum viginti platis de ferro, quatuordecem platas de ferro longas, viij platas de ferro curtas,

centum sexaginta et quinque clavos de ferro pro eisdem portis dictis portas colys novo ferrando, unum circulum ferreum pro barrieris juxta molendinum, unum magnum crowe, unum parvum crowe de ferro, unum magnum slegge, unum parvum slegge, unam magnam cathenam, unam parvam cathenam, sex forcipes, unum vertinuel, sex vyles, unum cable, unum nayltol," etc. The "nudæ portæ" were of course open timber gratings upon which the iron was to be plated. The barriers near the mill show them to have been in advance of the centre entrance, and the crows, sledge hammers, chains, and files would all be necessary for the setting up of portcullis or drawbridge.

Ten years later, 15 July, 1395, Richard from hence dispatched the proxies who were to plight his troth to the French king's daughter, and at the same time received a visit from Froissart, who was a great favorite, and accompanied the king to Eltham, where he was to discuss the French match with the magnates of the realm.

It was also at Leeds, and at the same time, that Richard signed two mandates, one for the expulsion of the Lollards from Oxford, and the other directing the University to sit in judgment upon the "Trialogus" of Wycliffe. Leeds was also one of the places to which Richard was carried after his deposition.

Henry IV. was at Leeds in 1401, but he seems to have granted the castle to Archbishop Arundel, who thence followed up Richard's edicts against the new heresy, by citing in 1413 Sir John Oldcastle to appear before him in "the greater chapel of Leeds Castle," where also, on his non-appearance, he passed upon him for contumacy the sentence which led to his martyrdom in the following reign.

In that reign, 4 Henry V., 1416, Leeds gave hospitality to the Emperor Sigismund on his return from London to Dover, when its resources must have been taxed to house the very splendid retinue provided for him. Two years later a royal but enforced visitor here was Joan, mother of the Duke of Brittany and stepmother to the king. Her stay at this time as a prisoner was short, but she resided here after her liberation in the next reign.

On the accession of Henry VI., Katherine of Valois was put in possession of Leeds, but Henry was there in 1436-8, and ordered certain repairs to the roof of the keep. In 1441, Duchess Eleanor of Gloucester was tried for sorcery in the chapel by Archbishop Chichele.

Under Edward IV. Leeds ceased to be assigned to the queen consort, and remained vested in the king, but the castle was no longer visited by royalty, and seems to have been allowed to fall into decay until the reign of Henry VIII., under whom Sir Henry Guildford resided here, and seems to have made considerable alterations, especially in the keep.

Edward VI. alienated Leeds from the crown in favour of Sir Antony St. Leger about 1550, whose descendants, after 1618, sold it to Richard Smith of the Strangford ancestry, whose heir, after 1631, resold it to Thomas Colepeper of the family of the former constable. The Smith occupation was marked by the construction of a handsome Elizabethan mansion at the north end of the larger island. The Colepepers, created barons in 1644, farmed the castle, in 1655, to the government for the safe keeping of about 600 French and Dutch prisoners, under the general charge of John Evelyn, who records himself to have "flowed the dry moat, made a new drawbridge, and brought spring water into the court

of the castle to an old fountain." The prisoners however much damaged the building and set fire to part of the keep.

The Colepeper heiress carried the estate to her husband Thomas, 5th Lord Fairfax. Robert, the 7th lord, repaired the dwelling-house and laid out the park, and here, in 1778, entertained George III. and his queen, the latest of very many royal visits to the place.

Lord Fairfax left the castle to his sister's son, Dr. Martin, known later as Dr. Fairfax, who died 1800, and was succeeded by his brother, General Martin, on whose death, in 1821, it descended to Fiennes Wykeham, representative of the younger branch of the Wykehams of Swaldcliff, where they held lands as early as the Domesday Survey, and whose son, Charles Wykeham Martin, member for Newport, is the present owner, and author of the history now under notice. The late owner took down the house of the Smiths and replaced it by a large mansion, also in the Tudor style, and no doubt occupying the site of the earliest domestic buildings, the original cellar being a part of the newer structures.

Archaeological Intelligence.

It is proposed to publish a facsimile of the "*Mappa Mundi*" in Hereford Cathedral, with its curious drawings of historical and other personages. This unique relic of mediæval geography appears, by a verse on the margin, to have been the work of a native of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Richard of Haldingham, prebendary of Hereford, 1290, and archdeacon of Berks. The original measures 52 in. by 63 in. Its value was first pointed out by Gough, in 1780 (*Brit. Topogr.*, vol. i p. 71); an imperfect copy was engraved in France about 1844, but it has never been reproduced with the care that so important an object deserves. A detailed prospectus may be obtained from the Rev. F. T. Havergal, Hereford; or Mr. Stanford, Charing Cross, London.

The student of Prehistoric Archaeology will hail with satisfaction the completion of the work, by Mr. E. T. Stevens, on *Ancient Implements of Stone*, of all countries, as illustrated by the collection in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury. This volume, price 15s., with numerous illustrations, will be published by Messrs. Bell & Daldy, London, and Messrs. Brown, Salisbury. The Author, to whose exertions and intelligence we are mainly indebted for the admirable arrangement of the museum founded by Mr. Blackmore, announces also a *Descriptive Guide* to that collection, price 2s. 6d. On a future occasion we hope to advert more fully to the highly instructive results of Mr. Stevens' labors in the preparation of a work which cannot fail to be most welcome, at a time when scientific examination of the ancient relics of stone, from every quarter of the globe, has excited such lively interest.

A new work on Ecclesiastical Architecture in Northumberland, a district rich in remarkable examples, is announced by Mr. F. R. Wilson of Alnwick, by whom subscribers' names are received. The volume, entitled "*The Churches of Lindisfarne*," will comprise 76 churches, illustrated from actual surveys, with historical descriptions. The price (to subscribers) will be one guinea. Some of these churches present portions of Saxon work, others have the curious fortified towers peculiar to the Border counties, and of which certain examples in Cumberland have been figured in this Journal.

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